DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 246 523 EA 016 948

AUTHOR George, Paul S.
TITLE Theory Z School: Beyond Effectiveness.
INSTITUTION National Middle School Association, Columbus, OH.
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 113p.
AVAILABLE FROM Publications Sales, National Middle School Association, P.O. Box 14882, Columbus, OH 43214 ($5.95; quantity discounts).
PUB TYPE Books (010) -- Viewpoints (120) -- Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Class Organization; Classroom Techniques; Curriculum Development; *Educational Change; Educational Environment; Educational Strategies; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Goal Orientation; Industry; Instructional Development; Leadership; Mastery Learning; *Models; *Organizational Development; Organizational Objectives; Participative Decision Making; *Productivity; Reference Groups; Relevance (Education); School Community Relationship; *School Effectiveness; Student Teacher Relationship
IDENTIFIERS Japan; *Theory Z

ABSTRACT

American schools might improve their performance by emulating certain successful businesses that, while distinctly American, have much in common with Japanese corporations. William Ouchi attributes Japanese business success to worker involvement; the typical Japanese corporation, he asserts, unifies its employees around a corporate philosophy transmitted through a corporate culture. Most American businesses, by contrast, are plagued with instability, as workers seek career growth at the expense of the company. American "Type Z" corporations, however, have attained prosperty and stability because, like Japanese corporations, they are people-centered and purposeful organizations. Meanwhile, despite growing criticism of American education, school effectiveness research has found examples of highly successful schools. The "Type Z" school is a new model that draws on both these analyses. The characteristics of such a school include: (1) a clear philosophy stressing excellence, equity, and enrichment in an optimistic environment; (2) a curriculum reflecting community goals and values; (3) classroom practices congruent with the school philosophy; (4) a sense of community among and between teachers and students; and (5) a strong principal providing symbolic leadership, instructional leadership, and group facilitation. (MCG)

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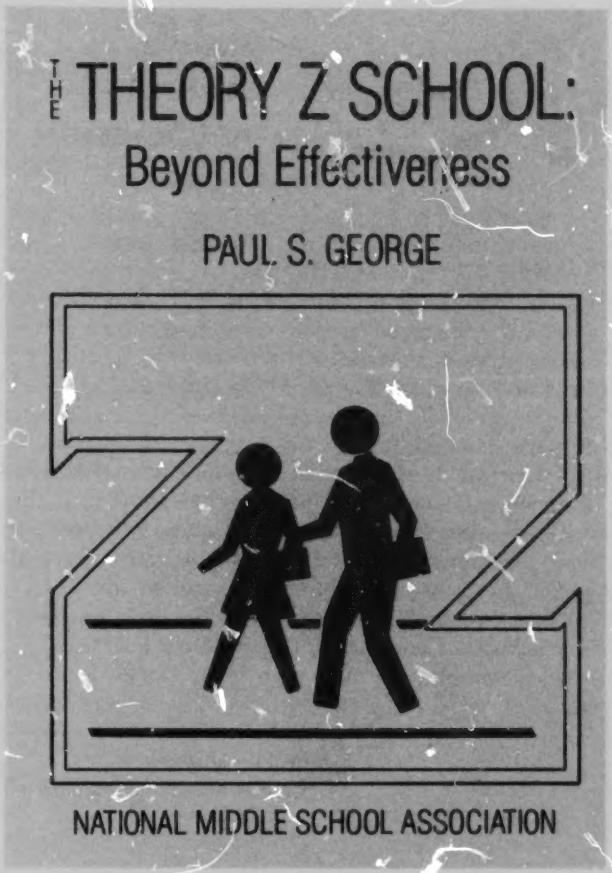
THE THEORY Z SCHOOL:
Beyond Effectiveness
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NATIONAL MIDDLE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

NATIONAL
middle
school
ASSOCIATION

At a time when the public's concern is being focused on education with renewed intensity, it is well that the education profession itself was already astir with proposals for reform. In this significant publication, several of the the recent major research efforts underlying proposals for improving American schools are reviewed succinctly. A solid philosophical base is laid for the detailed presentation of a Theory Z school. While the specific illustration is of a middle school, this monograph is of value to educators at all levels.

Especially important is the way this model deals with basic effectiveness, but does not stop there, for no matter how important fundamental skills are, America needs schools that go beyond basic skills.

The Publications Committee and NMSA are especially grateful to Paul George for preparing this timely manuscript. Dr. George, Professor of Education at the University of Florida, Gainesville, is one of the nation's foremost authorities on the middle school and his cogent style and sound scholarship are evident in *The Theory Z School: Beyond Effectiveness*.

John H. Lounsbury
for the Publications Committee

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$5.95

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Printed by OmniPress of Macon, Inc., P.O. Box 6555, Macon, Georgia

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Preface

Our society's institutions, all of them, are in disarray at the very time when the demands upon those institutions are increasing at a dramatic rate. If America is to be rebuilt before the 21st century, American schools must be renewed today and tomorrow. Schools must enter the next century as places where whole human beings learn effectively and grow as persons. Educators cannot afford to be trapped into treating pupils as though they were inanimate products. This manuscript is intended as a guide to authentic educational productivity, for 1984 and for 2001.

A number of people have assisted in the development of *The Theory Z School*, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank a few of them. Special thanks go to Linda Kramer, my graduate assistant, who put in long hours in the library searching for materials, and who is responsible for the first draft of the section on curriculum alignment. I also wish to thank Celeste Lasky, a doctoral candidate at the University of Colorado, for generously sharing information regarding her dissertation on Theory Z in school districts. Thanks also to the staff and students of Lincoln Middle School, Gainesville, Florida, for developing an almost perfect "Z" school. I would like to thank Ted Hipple for his generous, gentle, and helpful editing of the first draft of this manuscript. Finally, I want to indicate my warm appreciation of John Lounsbury for directing the production of this publication.

Paul George
Gainesville, Florida

Introduction

Productivity has become the watchword of the eighties. Following a long period of overconfidence and prodigal misuse of the nation's physical and human resources, Americans entered the decade of the seventies in a state of mind which President Jimmy Carter described, unpopularly, as a "national malaise." No longer convinced that our national and individual futures were invulnerably secure, we realized that the coming years might be far more difficult than anyone previously had foreseen. Most popular assessments of American society continue to conclude that our industrial, social and educational institutions are in a state of widespread disarray. It seems apparent that, if we want more productivity, nationally or individually, we will have to accomplish it with less. Insecurity runs rampant.

Mistrust is, unfortunately, the constant traveling companion of insecurity, and the American public has made it abundantly clear that all of our major institutions are suspect. Corporations, governing units, churches, and schools suffer from the public's belief that they are ineffective and unproductive. Daily reports in the media convey the conviction that those institutions are in the hands of a slothful, wasteful and even criminal group of managers and staffs. At best, the public declares that our products, whether steel or students, are not as good as they used to be.

There is little hope that, in this climate of opinion, additional resources will be targeted toward assisting educators to become more productive; there is even less likelihood that the pressures for improving educational productivity and effectiveness will abate. Educators in particular, if the past is indeed prologue, will be faced with the challenge of achieving more with less. Smaller, leaner school systems will be asked, if not ordered, to prepare American society for the twenty-first century. This monograph is based on the assumption that it is possible, though far from certain, that educators will accomplish this mission.

How shall educators proceed? Does our obligation end with productivity, or are educators bound, by the nature of schooling, to move beyond the current fascination with what is called effectiveness? Advocates of the middle school philosophy, and others, have long argued that it is possible to organize schools so that both quality and caring are parts of the process. *The Theory Z School* is based on the proposition that it is possible to have the best of both in American education, to aim for both productivity and personal growth.

Other American institutions, particularly corporate ones, are attempting to respond to the same demand for increased productivity, and the literature exploding from these efforts indicates that business management has begun to learn that what is really best for productivity is also likely to be best for the people involved. American industry has begun to approach productivity as if people mattered. *The Theory Z School* is, in part, an attempt to transfer to schooling those principles of industrial productivity that appear to be central to any effort toward institutional improvement.

If schools are to be more productive in the next several decades, without any commitment of new or additional resources to the task, then educators must learn from the other institutions in our society, especially corporations, as they grapple with similar challenges. There is no other choice.

What follows is an attempt to illustrate the principles of successful corporate productivity, to draw appropriate parallels from the current research on effective schools, to apply these principles to the development of a more comprehensive paradigm for schooling. Four questions are considered: 1) What are the secrets of successful Japanese and American corporations? 2) Can these concepts be applied to schools? 3) What would be the results of these applications? 4) Is it possible to move beyond effectiveness?

Part One focuses on the examination of successful practices in both Japanese and American corporate management. This section also illustrates parallel principles in the current research on school effectiveness. Part Two presents a more comprehensive model for educational productivity, derived from the concepts of successful practice in both education and corporate life.

Part One:

Productivity in Corporations & Schools

The Japanese Experience: What Can We Learn From Toyota?

The Current Dilemma. On May 11, 1982, a full page "open letter to the public," entitled "Made in Japan," appeared in many newspapers in major American cities across the continent. Its author (the owner and operator of the world's largest Pontiac automobile dealership) challenged his readers to compare the productivity of the American automobile industry with what he had learned about the Toyota corporation. Among other startling revelations, the author pointed out that it takes Detroit about twice as much time, twice the workforce, and twice as much money to turn out an automobile that has about a hundred times more defects than the average Toyota when it finally rolls off of the assembly line.

Similar stories confront Americans almost every day. Readers of newspapers learn that the American steel industry is on its last legs, with the "coup de grace" about to be administered by the tremendously successful Japanese steel industry. We discover that Fuji film, rather than America's Kodak, is the official film of the upcoming Olympics in Los Angeles. We are told that of the 493 White House staff members, 233 own Japanese cars. We read that the Hitachi Corporation is fined ten thousand dollars for stealing computer secrets from IBM, and then is awarded a ten million dollar contract for computers for the Social Security Administration. Most American households now include dozens of highly complex, expensive commodities (cameras, TV's, stereos, pianos, cars, motorcycles, tape recorders — the list is endless) manufactured in Japan, replacing similar but far less dependable items once manufactured here. Marvin Harris, internationally recognized anthropologist, asks, "Is American dying of a broken part?" (Harris, 1981, p. 17)

Most American educators are old enough to remember when "Made in Japan" was synonymous with cheap, shoddy, unreliable merchandise. Following World War II, the Japanese industry was regarded with derision, clearly lacking in the "good old American know-how." "Made in Japan" was the punch line to a joke; but it turns out that the joke may have been on us, after all. It is the once invincible American industrial-corporate giant that seems in danger of being felled by an oriental David. In the years after 1945, thousands of Japanese industrialists were brought to the United States as part of Douglas MacArthur's bold plan for the rebuilding of that devasted island nation; these days the traffic is all in the other direction.

The analysis of how a turnabout could have occurred in such a short time will be properly left to historians and other social scientists and will take years to determine. American corporate management, how-

ever, is doing its best to swallow its pride and to learn everything it can, now, about the secrets of Japanese success. American educational managers, faced with a different but equally serious and pressing dilemma, may profit from peering over the shoulders of their corporate counterparts as they attempt to improve their institutional productivity. What, indeed, can be learned from Toyota?

Theory Z

In the early 1980s, dozens of books and articles on this subject appeared, attempting to explain the Japanese approach to improving industrial and technological effectiveness. None has been more favorably received than *Theory Z*, by William Ouchi (1981), professor of management in the Graduate School of Management at the University of California, Los Angeles. After spending years researching and examining major corporations in Japan, and working with many of America's most successful Fortune 500 Companies, Ouchi carefully laid out what, why and how he believed Americans can learn from Japanese business success. Ouchi outlined the basic components of three different kinds of corporations: the typical successful Japanese corporation (Type J); the typical unsuccessful American corporation (Type A); and the Type Z corporation, those American enterprises which manage to maximize their success by combining the best of both American and Japanese approaches to management.

The Type J Corporation. Examples of the successful Japanese style corporation (Type J, in Ouchi's framework), are well known to most Americans. When asked to think of product lines that stand for quality, dependability and value, most consumers would quickly name Toyota, Honda, Yamaha, Mitsubishi, Nikon, Sony, and Nissan, among others. The list of Japanese companies that are competing more than successfully with American corporations in areas not normally familiar to U.S. consumers, such as the steel and banking industries, is probably at least as long as the more familiar consumer products list.

At the heart of the successful Japanese corporation, says Ouchi, is the principle that involved workers are the key to increased productivity. Living together for centuries on an island that has few natural resources other than its people, the Japanese have always made the most of the only resource they have available. Historically, the Japanese culture has enabled its people to live in greater harmony, in much greater population densities, than almost anywhere else on earth. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the enigmatic Japanese culture has traditionally emphasized trust, subtlety and intimacy, in ways barely understandable by Westerners born and bread in a culture shaped by the frontier, the westward movement and the wide open spaces. It is this cultural experience, emerging from centuries of living and working closely together, generation after generation, that the Japanese have transferred to their corporate management lives today. It is, the Japanese say, impossible to understand their corporate style without comprehending the impact of their centuries-old culture at every point.

Lifetime Employment. Stability is as much a constant in this Japanese culture as mobility is in America, and life in the traditional Type J corporation reflects this fact. More than one-third of all Japanese workers spend their entire lives associated with just one company. From the day they begin work, the company promises them lifetime employment, in return for a lifetime of loyalty from the employee. Corporation chief executive officers get to the top by beginning at the bottom of the same company and not by moving over, laterally, from a competitor. In fact, being hired by a new company after spending years at another is virtually impossible. Termination, says Ouchi, is almost unheard of, except in the case of a major criminal offense; and being fired is a harsh punishment, since related corporations will refuse to hire the terminated employee. As a result, loyalty to and identification with the corporation is intense and meaningful.

Hired in large groups every spring, the eager new employees find themselves as a part of a group, the members of which for ten years or so, will receive the same pay raises and promotion. Only after this very lengthy period of introduction and indoctrination will the members of the group begin to be evaluated or promoted separately and begin to have individually distinct futures within the corporation. Each employee knows, therefore, that there is little reason to initiate projects which may have short run popularity but may be long run disasters. The employee has no reason to act in ways that will advance his own career at the expense of someone else, since he knows that the person or group he may treat unfairly will still be with him for decades to come, as a result of the policy of lifetime employment. The intimacy resulting from such long term contact makes it almost certain that true effort and skill will eventually be noticed and evaluated fairly. Loyalty to this working group becomes as intense as the commitment to the corporation itself.

Lifetime Job Rotation. Loyalty to the company is also strengthened through the exceptionally unspecialized career paths that characterize life in major Japanese corporations. Life-long employment is accompanied by life-long job rotation, so that by the time an employee reaches the inner circle of managers, he has had years of experience in every major aspect of the company's operations. Instead of specializing in marketing, for example, employees usually begin with years of experience in the basic production processes, then they move through one important component of the corporation after another. When they finally assume major responsibilities, they do so with a knowledge of and a commitment to the company and its product as a whole. There is little temptation to look good, individually, by attempting to have one's division succeed at the expense of another.

The Company Philosophy. Perhaps the most important feature of the Type J corporation, says Ouchi, is the presence of the corporate philosophy of management. This philosophy usually emanates from tradition, and from continuing strong leadership at the helm of the corporation. It spells out what the members of the company believe about how they should deal with customers, what they should produce and what they should not, how they should deal with their competitors, and what the role of the corporation should be in the society and world at large. The company philosophy clarifies the goals of the corporation and the procedures that are appropriate for moving toward those goals. From this bedrock philosophy and set of values, managers can deduce (without having them constantly spelled out) a vast number of specific rules or targets that apply in special or diverse situations.

The significance of this philosophical posture is illustrated by the firm words of the founder of one important Japanese film organized in the 1920's:

> If you make an honest mistake, the company will be very forgiving. Treat it as a training expense and learn from it. You will be severly criticized (dismissed), however, if you deviate from the company's basic principles (Pascale and Athos, 1981, pp. 74-75).

Here is a statement of the philosophy of this company (Pascale and Athos, 1981, p. 75):

BASIC BUSINESS PRINCIPLES

> To recognize our responsibilities as industrialists, to foster progress, to promote the general welfare of society, and to devote ourselves to the further development of world culture.

EMPLOYEE'S CREED

> Progress and development can be realized only through the combined efforts and cooperation of each member of our Company. Each of us, therefore, shall keep this idea constantly in mind as we devote ourselves to the continuing improvement of our Company.

THE SEVEN "SPIRITUAL" VALUES

1) National Service Through Industry
2) Fairness
3) Harmony and Cooperation
4) Struggle for Betterment
5) Courtesy and Humility
6) Adjustment and Assimilation
7) Gratitude

The Corporate Culture. In Japan, such philosophies and guiding values are infrequently written down in precise statements. Rather, these commitments are more commonly communicated by means of what Ouchi identifies as the "company culture." These symbolic systems grow, over the years of the company's existence, from thousands

of common experiences and interactions which employees share with each other. Stories, rituals, ceremonies, and traditional ways of doing things communicate to the employees in concrete ways the underlying values of the company, and the message is received more firmly and lasts longer than might have been the case in a neatly written and printed handout describing what the company's philosophy claimed to be.

The existence of such a company culture is reinforced, synergistically, by the traditions of long-term employment and long-term job rotation. Without relationships that last for decades, that is, a common culture has little chance of developing into anything meaningful. In the same way, a common orientation to the world of work and its perceived purposes adds a richness and vitality to the years employees spend together. Each factor (philosophy, and years together) enhances the other, so that each is more powerful in its effects on people and productivity in the presence of the other.

Participatory Decision-Making. This common set of values and extensive interpersonal knowledge permits the development of a pattern of communication that is as swift and accurate as it is subtle. Employees who have the same values, and who have worked together for years, develop a shorthand method of communication. This very subtle but effective method of communication makes possible another distinguishing characteristic of the typical Japanese corporation—their participatory approach to decision-making.

Whenever a major decision must be made in the Type J corporation, all persons who will be affected in some significant way are involved in the decision. Long, complicated and time-consuming procedures are followed with great care. These procedures, though often frustrating to Western observers and businessmen, insure that when decisions are finally made, successful implementation will rapidly follow. Because this otherwise very cumbersome process takes place in the context of shared values, skillful communication and trust, the decisions that result are often far more successfully acted upon than might be the case in a typical American company.

Participatory decision-making is not limited to the top level managers and their assistants. Every employee in the Type J firm has frequent opportunities for influencing the policies and practices of the company. Known in America as "quality circles," the employees of the Type J company participate in work groups whose responsibilities include the identification of problems and the development of solutions to those same problems. An individual worker may be a member of as many as a dozen different groups, all of which have, as at least a part of their goals, the improvement of the company's productivity.

Quality circles consist of small groups of from seven to ten workers who work together, but who also meet together regularly to identify

and recommend solutions for company problems. In addition to attempting to improve productivity, these groups strive to improve communication with each other, and especially with employees further up the hierarchy, so that the result will be continuous elevation of the level of trust and caring in the company (Bonner, 1982). The quality circle technique is rapidly becoming popular in American corporations, hospitals, and schools; how effective they will be, in the absence of an understanding of the whole mode of Japanese productivity, remains to be seen.

Collective Responsibility. Studies of Japanese management accurately report that the most difficult aspect of the Type J corporation for Americans to understand or accept is the strong Japanese orientation toward collective responsibility and interdependence. Americans shaped by the traditions of colonization, the frontier and the westward movement have built independence and individual responsibility deeply into our culture. The Japanese, by contrast, value the opposite, reflecting the evolution of their culture on a tiny Pacific island. To the Japanese, "everything important in life happens as a result of teamwork or collective effort" (Ouchi, 1981, p. 42).

For the employee in the Type J company, independence is more likely to be seen as disregard for others and self-centeredness rather than as a positive quality. Self-restraint and loyalty to the work group are strongly emphasized. Problems are not identified by individuals; solutions are not suggested by individuals; rewards are not received for an individual accomplishment.

Holistic Concern. In Japan, each work group is the subject of constant attention from every level of management. This attention, however, is not focused as exclusively on group productivity as it is in American firms. The Japanese are keenly aware of the importance of what have become known here as maintenance functions; the affective side of groups requires attention and nurturing just as much as individuals within them do. Whereas American managers are likely to speak negatively of the effort necessary to promote strong and productive group feelings, as though it was really beyond reasonable requirements to be concerned about such "hand-holding," the Japanese work hard at it. Ceremonies, after-hours socializing, and a family-style approach to belonging are critical to the sense of group involvement in the Type J company.

In fact, the successful Japanese corporation may be thought of, accurately, as an extension of the strong family structure present in that culture (Sato, 1983). The closeknit, interdependent family structure in Japan leads to a similar structure in the corporate side of life. Again, from our perspective of a culture emphasizing the independence and

privacy of the self, the Japanese emphasis on interdependence may be difficult to understand and too easily condemned. Pascale and Athos (1981) describe, in detail, the cultural conditioning in each society that leads to separate emphasis on dependence versus independence. Just as loyalty to one's family is the superordinate value in Japanese social life, loyalty to one's work group is the "most respected personal attribute" of the Japanese worker (Pascale and Athos, 1981, p. 201).

In a way that challenges Western understanding, Japanese family life and corporate life appear to be inextricably interwoven. The following description of the culminating ceremony in the process of inducting new employees into one of Japan's more important banks illustrates how close the connection really is (Ouchi, 1981):

> Training culminates in a formal ceremony held in the company auditorium. The bank president stands at the podium, the training director at his side. The young trainees sit in the front rows with their mothers, fathers and siblings behind them. The president welcomes the new members into the bank family, challenging them to live up to the expectations of their trainer and leader. He speaks also to the parents, accepting from them the challenge of providing for their children not only honest work, but also accepting the obligation to see to their complete physical, intellectural, and moral development. A representative of the parents next takes the podium, thanking the bank for offering this opportunity to their offspring and reaffirming the charge to the trainees to be as loyal to their new family as they are to their blood family. Finally, a representative of the trainees rises to speak, thanking both parents and bank for their support and pledging to work hard to meet their expectations. (p. 44)

The probability of a similar scene occurring in an American corporation is infinitesimally small. Nor would most Americans wish it to be otherwise. Ouchi points out that in our culture, we practice "partial inclusion," the practice of being part-time members of a number of social organizations that makes it easy to move from one social domain to another, and "tensions that have built up in one can be released in another" (Ouchi, 1981, p. 44).

In Japan, however, people who live and work with each other, and face each other in multiple contexts throughout their lives, cannot afford to seriously misunderstand each other. They cannot afford to let disharmony, mistrust and enmity develop. They must work to build intimacy, trust and understanding. The Japanese people have become experts at developing close, harmonious working relationships. Their products demonstrate this success.

Taken together, the characteristics of the Type J firm describe an institution that is almost unrecognizable to most Americans. Life-time employment, life-time job rotation, work group loyalty and collective

responsibility, communications typified by trust and subtlety, almost fanatic commitment to the company philosophy, and an intimate connection between family and corporation: every item seems strange to the American worker. Unfortunately, the fiercely successful competition with American productivity that results is becoming more and more familiar each day.

The Type A Corporation

To Ouchi, the typical American corporation (the Type A firm) manifests a distinctly different, quite opposite makeup. Identifying these units is, again unfortunately, about as easy as naming successful Japanese competitors; the lists of American automobile, steel, banking, and high technology companies that epitomize waste, shoddiness and lack of dependability is all too long. Although generalizing carries its own hazards, there do appear to be some common elements that can accurately describe the Type A effort.

Consider the case of Jim, a lifelong friend of mine. About twenty years ago, Jim graduated from a fine small liberal arts college with a major in business administration and, in the last decade, completed the requirements for a master's degree in that same field. Bright, hard-working to a fault, and possessing a sophisticated personal style, Jim exemplified the best of young American corporate management employees. Since college graduation, Jim has become what might be called a corporate bedouin, moving from firm to firm at least a half dozen times until reaching what appears to be a relatively permanent position in the last five years.

Beginning with a quite small company, Jim was quickly elevated to the status of the company's director of sales training and placed in charge of the development of the skills and knowlege of the firm's sales force. With no direct and continuing involvement on the production line, Jim also became a sales training expert, with little more direct experience in sales himself. Jim moved aggressively; he initiated a number of projects and championed a number of new ideas that resulted in several quick positive evaluations and promotions. These served as a platform from which Jim launched his successful search for a new job in a bigger company with a totally different product.

At the second company, Jim arrived with a reputation as a fast starter with upward professional mobility. The style and strategy that served him well with his first employer worked well in the second effort. A new round of seemingly successful projects and ideas, followed by another quick and positive series of evaluations and promotions, saw Jim moving more and more deeply into the very specialized area of sales training. Experience with the total production and marketing effort, characteristic of young Japanese managers, became impossible for Jim. Jim's friendships and loyalties, the few that did emerge, lay in the area of his specialization and tied him to other specialists in

sales training, in other firms. Instead of lifetime employment and job rotation within one company, Jim fit into the more common pattern of budding American executives, one of longterm job change within a very narrow area of specialization. Loyalties and expertise developed both outside the company and beyond the range of what the company produced. Pride in the company, the company's product, and the company's people took a distant second place to Jim's pride in himself, his specialized expertise, and his individual advancement.

Jim worked from sunup Monday morning until sundown Friday night. His family knew that they had little to do with this effort and had even less claim on his time during the week. On some weekends, when outside consultation opportunities and extra work did not materialize, Jim spent time with his growing family. Because Jim's success at work required frequent relocation, the family had few outside ties and relied more and more on each other for what little continuing social sustenance they could derive. Because Jim was frequently unavailable to his family even on weekends, his wife and children began to learn to exist without him.

Eventually, Jim was offered, and accepted, one of the premier positions in the sales training field of specialization, at one of the nation's largest Type A corporations. In the middle of his effort to repeat those strategies which had brought him success so often in the past, Jim ran into a staggering economic recession and, even more disasterously, into vicious competition from other seasoned infighters in other divisions of the corporate headquarters. Jim was fired; Jim was divorced; Jim was bankrupt and unemployed. Without support at work, at home, or from others in his area of expertise who were now jealously and nervously guarding their own territories, Jim was alone. In his early forties, Jim faced one of the most agonizing reappraisals in American life, at the very time American corporate life itself faced that same dreadful task.

It would be a mistake to assume that Jim's story is applicable to all of American corporate life, but it would be equally erroneous to deny its applicability to a significant portion of American industry. For many, if not most American corporate managers, professional life in a Type A firm is characterized by rapid job turnover, equally rapid evaluation and promotion of both people and products, specialized career paths, individual decision-making and responsibility, and what Ouchi calls "segmented involvement" (Ouchi, 1981, p. 46). American consumers are ever more painfully familiar with the results of American corporate management gone awry.

The Type Z Corporation

Is that all there is? Are Americans doomed to observe and lament the passing of our century-old worldwide economic hegemony? Are we

condemned to a cycle similar to the one that reduced Great Britain from a great pre-war power to a struggling unproductive minor partner in Western enterprise? No, says Ouchi.

There is another side to the story, as one well-known news broadcaster is fond of saying, and it is not what most observers of the American scene might suggest. Americans need not, indeed could not, set out on a path that would lead to an ironically reversed imitation of the techniques that are delivering the riches of economic productivity to Japan's island doorstep. To attempt to merely mimic Japanese techniques would be impossible and, thus, disasterous.

To attempt to do so would, moreover, be undesirable. The Japanese culture, rich and strong though it may be, is far from perfect. Americans have set some important social goals in the areas of racial and sexual equality, for example, that might not be as easily realized in a corporate world embedded in another cultural tradition. Futhermore, it is clearly accurate that the strengths of American ingenuity and industrial prowess transformed much of the Western world of the twentieth century into a land of relative wealth and comfort. We have a culture, social goals and a heritage of which we can be justifiably proud.

According to Ouchi, and to other observers of the American corporate scene (Peters and Waterman, 1982), there are among us, now, extremely successful American companies which, while they are distinctly American in many important ways, also display the features that have contributed to the success of so many other (Japanese) corporations. These highly successful American corporations Ouchi calls the Type Z companies. Among the more well known productive and profitable American firms, that might be identified as Type Z corporations, are the following:

IBM	Levi Strauss
Proctor and Gamble	Boeing
Hewlett-Packard	Walt Disney
Dayton-Hudson	Caterpillar
Rockwell	Dana
Eli Lilly	Johnson and Johnson
Intel	MacDonald's
Delta Airlines	Texas Instruments

A cursory perusal of this list reveals that outstanding records of success are not limited to one segment of American industry, nor is productivity the exclusive province of either the old established firms or the result of bright new stars in the constellation of American management. Transportation, high technology, entertainment, and a half dozen other fields are well represented.

For business managers and educators alike, then, the concern can focus on the characteristics of successful corporate management, the common elements that lay at the base of the successful American corporation regardless of the product or age of the firm. What are the dimensions of the Type Z corporation?

Long Term Employment: First, like the typical Japanese corporation, the American Type Z firm is characterized by long-term employment. Although perhaps not to the degree found in Japan, life in the Z firm is likely to involve a long term commitment to and from the company. Large numbers of employees begin and end their management careers in the same Z corporation. Access to the higher levels of responsibility begins at the bottom of the production or sales area; most directors and chief executive officers began their careers immersed in the basic business of the company. An intense loyalty to the company and its products is the common result.

Long Term Job Rotation. Type Z corporation managers also have much less specialized career development patterns than found in the typical American firm. High level managers usually arrive at that point after having had years of experience in several different components of corporate operations. They understand the total product, the multitude of processes that combine to produce it, and they take fierce pride in the result. Type Z company managers are much less likely to be specialists in finance, law, or some other aspect of the company less directly involved with the product. As in Japan, this broad perspective reinforces the sense of identification with the company and its thrust.

Interpersonal Skills. Corporations that are characterized by long term interpersonal relationships among the same groups of employees can no more tolerate disharmony than Toyota could. Z companies, therefore, spend significant amounts of time, energy and funds on improving the interpersonal communication skills of their employees. In companies typified by more than the average amounts of ambiguity and intentional lack of clarity about authority, skillful interpersonal communication is a crucial ingredient to company survival (Ouchi, 1981, p. 91). In stable bureaucratic structures where ranks and responsibilities are fixed and unambiguous (the opposite of the type Z operation) communication skills may not have the premium they receive in the Z company.

Explicit and Implicit Controls. Long term associations and skillful communication permit the members of the Z style corporation to exhibit another important characteristic, the ability to utilize both explicit and implicit means of evaluation and control of products and people (Ouchi, p. 61). While so many American firms, having surrendered to a revolving door style of professional life, are forced to abandon any semblance of trust, subtlety and intimacy, the Z firm is stable and continuing. The use of impersonal and objective methods of evaluation that depend entirely upon facts and figures is balanced and enhanced

in the Type Z firm by an equally enthusiastic reliance upon a more implicit and nonquantitative, more subtle, intuitive "feel" for things. And it works.

The Corporate Philosophy. No other characteristic of the type Z company, however, is more distinguishing than the commitment to the company philosophy. While lines of authority and responsibilities may shift in the Z company, the company values are unshakeably firm. In fact, Peters and Waterman concluded:

> Every excellent company we studied is clear on what it stands for, and takes the process of value shaping seriously. In fact, we wonder whether it is possible to be an excellent company without clarity on values and without having the right sort of values. (p. 280)

Companies that do well, financially, always have well-defined philosophical commmitments. Companies that do less well in the profit picture are likely to have either no set of coherent beliefs, or have a set of objectives that could be quantified into dollar figures (Peters and Waterman, 1982). It is not that Z companies are unconcerned about profits; Ouchi points out that they are among the fastest growing and most highly profitable of the Fortune 500 firms. The attitude of management in these companies tends to be that profits are an important indication of the service to the society being rendered by the company, a symbol of the true value of the product to the customers. This posture, and related values "are not a sham, not comestic, but they are practiced as the standard by which decisions are made" (Ouchi, 1981, p. 64). Such companies do not adopt, as an advertising gimmick, slogans which trumpet "We Care!" and then trample over the rights and needs of the consumer on the way to quick profits.

Effective company value systems, it turns out, often have some common elements. Philosophies of Z companies rarely, for example, speak of profit except in the most ambiguous terms; these things are always associated with other goals the company hopes to accomplish. Philosophies of high-achieving companies are almost always aimed at inspiring all of the employees of the company all of the time, rather than meaning something to just a few. Such statements often focus, in one way or another, on elements of the following (Peters and Waterman, 1982):

1. A belief in being the "best"
2. A belief in the importance of the details of execution, the nuts and bolts of doing the job well
3. A belief in the importance of people as individuals
4. A belief in superior quality and service
5. A belief that most members of the organization should be innovators, and its corollary, the willingness to support failure

6. A belief in the importance of informality to enhance communication
7. Explicit belief in and recognition of the importance of economic growth and profits. (p. 285)

Highly successful companies are often almost fanatic in the commitment to these values. Firms like IBM and Frito Lay are famous in their industires for an incredible commitment to service to the customer. Frito, for example, holds sacred what they refer to as their "99.5 percent service level," sacrificing profits in the short run to establish what they believe to be a more worthy approach to long run success. Corporate executives at IBM still regularly make service calls; this message is not lost on either the customer or the regular service personnel from IBM (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 165).

One of the world's best examples of the commitment to service is Walt Disney Productions. It is quite possible that the person beneath the Mickey Mouse costume seen on "Main Street USA" at Disney World, in Orlando, Florida, is a high-ranking corporate executive engaging in a "close to the customer" exercise. Such activities are not viewed with disdain; there are no unimportant activities or people at Disney. Peters and Waterman illustrate that workers at Disney, MacDonald's, or at dozens of other high performing companies, regardless of the product, all see themselves as in a service business that depends for its life on customer satisfaction.

Just as frequently, the type Z corporation will have an obsession with quality that is equally as intense as their commitment to service. Walt Disney himself created the legend of the white glove inspection. Ray Kroc, founder of MacDonald's, is famous for his personal, unannounced inspection tours of local franchises. The stories about such zeal for quality are endless, whether they come from Caterpillar, Maytag, Holiday Inn or Proctor and Gamble. One observer of the quality issue in the airline industry put in this way (Peters and Waterman, 1982):

> Braniff thought quality meant Alexander Calder paint jobs and comely stewardesses. Delta knows it means planes that arrive on time. (p. 179)

Companies such as these tend to find something they can do supremely well, and they stick to it. Their philosophy speaks clearly to the lack of support for activities and products that they are likely to do poorly because the company lacks the expertise to do them well. Customers can rely on a job done well because the energy and expertise of the company is not drawn off into activities that it knows nothing about. Diversification comes to such firms, but, when it happens, it focuses on the extension of knowledge and skills already possessed by the company. Taking a flier into unknown and uncharted waters is rare (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 293).

The Corporate Culture. In a pattern that is strikingly similar to life in the Japanese corporation, long term employment, a tradition of job rotation, and years of working together within the context of a common value system lead to the development of company cultures that add firm layers of supportive meaning to the working and personal lives of all the employees of the Type Z firm. Without exception, these company cultures give clear expression to the most strenuously affirmed principle of the Type Z company, that the secret of productivity is neither financial wizardry nor market manipulations. Successful corporations, here and abroad, base their preeminence on a strategy in which people matter more than products.

Egalitarianism. An important corollary of this people principle is the strong strain of egalitarianism observable in Type Z firms. The hallmark of the Z company is in dealing with people as one person to another, rather than in strictly segmented superior-subordinate bureaucratized relationships that quickly become dehumanized. Ouchi describes the outcome:

> An organization that maintains a wholistic orientation and forces employees at all levels to deal with one another as complete human beings creates a condition in which depersonalization is impossible, autocracy is unlikely, and open communication, trust, and commitment are common...Managers show subordinates their acceptance of them as equals, as whole human beings...The natural force of organizational hierarchy promotes a segmented relationship and a hierarchical attitude. A wholistic relationship provides a counter-balance that encourages a more egalitarian attitude...Egalitarianism is a central feature of Type Z organizations. (p. 68)

Trust is the product of egalitarianism. Subtlety and intimacy follow from trust. A sense of community grows out of the soil of the Type Z environment; personal friendships are strong and professional meaning infuses the lives of the employees.

Community. The sense of community that is the highlight of the Z company culture is both the result of the other characteristics of the company and the cause of increased productivity and satisfaction. The symbols of the community spirit emerge spontaneously at some times and are the result of careful nurturing at other points. Corporations must be organized Z companies have learned, so that size makes the sense of community possible.

Anthropologist Marvin Harris (1981) supports the contention that quality and productivity suffer from industrial institutions having been organized in a way that makes a sense of community nearly impossible:

> My basic contention is that after World War II, quality problems reached crisis proportions as a result of the unprecedented increase in the size and complexity of U.S. manufacturing corporations and hence in the quantity of alienated and uncaring workers and managers. This is not to say that only large corporations have quality problems. Small companies can also produce shoddy goods but in a free enterprise system they are not likely to remain in business very long. Not only do giant corporations tend to produce alienated workers, managers, and shoddy goods on a giant scale, but they tend to stay in business. (p. 23-24)

But at Frito-Lay there is a sales force of 10,000 people, and at IBM there are over 340,000 employees! How do these giant corporations avoid the anonymity and alienation that capture their competitors? What does "productivity through people" mean in a corporation of such massive size? Again, whether the product is potato chips or computer chips, there are common themes in the approach the most successful companies take to developing community and a common culture, all of it spinning out of the basic idea of an egalitarian respect for the individual person.

This basic belief is real; successful companies mean it when they say it. They do not fall into the traps of simply giving it lip service or using it as a motivational gimmick. Nor is it the limp half-commitment that reveals what is really a false faith; successful companies can be tough-minded and humane at the same time.

Peters and Waterman (1982) do a marvelous job of describing the successes of major American corporations in designing a corporate organization and developing a management style that puts people first. Much of what they relate might seem, even to educators, to be in the category of schmaltz and hoopla; but it works because, at bottom, the people in charge of people in these organizations actually do put people first.

Consider some of the stories they relate about companies developing this family feeling, in spite of giant size, and the results they achieve in productivity:

1. At RMI corporation, a subsidiary of a major steel company, after years of substandard performance, a new president who was an ex-captain of a professional football team turned it all around. He did it, in part, by injecting enjoyment into the work day. The company's logo is a smile-face, seen everywhere—on the walls, on company stationery, and on the hard hats of the workers. The president calls his employees by name, all 2,000 of them!
2. Hewlett-Packard's philosophy is completely people-oriented. It's called the "HP Way". One resulting policy is that employees are encouraged to go into the open lab stock room, where

the expensive and sophisticated electrical and mechanical components are kept, and to take equipment home for their personal use! Legend has it that the founder once discovered such a room padlocked on a Saturday. He immediately shatterred the lock with a bolt cutter and left behind a note saying "Don't ever lock this door again. Thanks, Bill."

3. Wal-Mart, the country's fourth largest retailer, grew from 18 stores to 330 during the 1970's. The president, the driving force behind the company's success, insists that all his managers wear buttons that say "We Care About Our People." Employees are "associates" at Wal-Mart. Day and night the president of the company can be seen talking with and enjoying the company of "his people." The message goes to the center of the entire workforce. At the regular monthly meetings of the management team, as plaques are given out to "honor roll" stores, the president jumps up and shouts "Who's number one?" When everyone yells back "Wal-Mart," they mean it.
4. At Delta Airlines the last strike was in 1942. In 1982, the employees of Delta surprised the management with a birthday present of a a three million dollar airplane, purchased from voluntary contributions from employees salaries of up to $1,500 per person! The story of success at Delta is the result of a lot of little things, including the lowest layoff rate in the airline business and a hiring policy that ensures that new employees want to join an organization instead of just an institution.
5. IBM is probably the biggest and oldest of the Type Z companies with the commitment to people first. An absolute deluge of opportunities for people has been the seventy year history of this corporate giant. One dollar-a-year-country clubs! Lifetime employment! Day care centers, tennis courts and jogging tracks. A commitment to people that held up enven during the depths of the Great Depression.

There are far too many stories, told by Peters and Waterman, and others, to relate them here. Readers are encouraged to go directly to these sources. But the message is clear; over and over and over again, the successful corporate giants put people first. They follow common patterns in their attempts to do so (Peters and Waterman, 1982):

1. The language used in these people-oriented companies has a common flavor. Words and phrases capsulize this commitment, constantly giving dignity and importance to the individual employee.
2. Many of the companies really do view themselves as an extended family.
3. Rigid and unbreachable chains of command are absent. Chief executive officers and their lieutenants are accessible to everyone.

4. Activities and rituals in these companies include intensely motivational recognition and reward ceremonies. Singing songs, shouting slogans, waving signs, wearing b ittons, having mascots and totems—all these techniques cons antly reinforce the idea that people are first.
5. Incoming managers and employees are carefully selected and thoroughly indoctrinated into the ways of the firm. New members of Disney World family, for example, have more money spent on their orientation than the company spends on marketing to the public.
6. Workers and managers are part of small work groups as their primary assignment. Smallness permits friendship, manageability and commitment.

Participatory Decision-Making. The Type Z corporation extends this orientation to people to the way in which policies are developed and the manner in which decisions are made. Ouchi says, however, that unlike their Japanese counterparts, American Type Z "decision-making may be collective, but the ultimate responsibility for the decision still resides in one individual" (1981, p. 66). Instead of either totally group decisions or the unilateral mandate of the authoritarian boss, the Type Z company balances group and individual responsibility. Having an individual feel a sense of responsibility for carrying out a decision reached by group consensus is, in this society, a difficult process, and makes extremely important the existence of a common set of company values to which all members subscribe. Trust becomes the oil that lubricates the implementation of such decisions.

It also involves an honesty on the part of the manager of a Type Z firm, when faced with decisions that cannot be shared. Workers in such companies can be satisfied with a level of involvement that is less than total. Clear and consistently followed guidelines that spell out the decision-making process and its limitations help the process work more effectively. Small work groups, with appropriately limited responsibilities, are often effective in the Z firm. A selection from the corporate philosophy at Intel makes it clear:

> We desire to have all employees involved and participate in their relationship with Intel. We want the employees to care about their company. To aid in achieving this end, we stress good communications and attempt to organize the company in smallest possible groups to allow a sense of identity and closeness (Ouchi, 1981, p. 132).

In the massive General Motors Corporation, the world's largest producer, an intense effort to increase the participation of the workers has been moving successfully. In one plant where such activities were

initiated, the team (of eight to twenty people) became the fundamental group. Team members, working with management, influenced many aspects of their work lives previously beyond their control (Ouchi, 1981, p. 160):

Selection of their team leader
Job assignment within teams
Performance evaluation and control
Absenteeism control
Time and attendance records
Calculations of internal efficiencies
Scheduling part number changeovers
Budget forecast and control of plant related accounts
Scrap control
Job knowledge evaluation for pay raises

Each of these teams also selected a representative to join a larger plant-wide committee that focused on the concerns affecting the total group. The policies shaped by this group had a clearly egalitarian flavor. Among other things they arranged (Ouchi, 1981, p. 161):

No time clocks
One parking lot, entrance and dining room
The minimization of status symbols
Regular communication programs at work and to the homes
Freedom to have meetings when the need is there
Expectations to be the best plant in General Motors

After over a year of such involvement, this GM plant could boast of a number of significant results that caused the management of General Motors to expand the process to over 160 other similar projects!

Spirited Leadership. None of this description of the Theory Z approach to corporate management should be taken to mean that leadership is any less important in such efforts than in other approaches. It is, ironically, just the opposite. The presence of strong, committed and effective leadership is obvious in every Type Z company. But leadership, Z style, is a slightly different matter.

Social scientists have been studying the dynamics of leadership for decades, and it is clear that there are many kinds of leadership and that effective corporate institutional management requires them all, at one time or another (Hampton, Summer, and Webber, 1978). Leaders in Type Z corporations must, like leaders elsewhere, demonstrate support for their employees. They must provide direction and clarification. They must involve the workers in the decisions that affect their lives. But, most of all, they must infuse the day-to-day existence of the corporate employees with meaning.

Leaders in successful, Type Z, corporations are complex and skillful people. They often have spent years in the basic operations of the business, where they learned to love the business, the product, and the people who work on assembly lines. They have extremely high energy levels. But, above and beyond these traits, they tend to be charismatic makers of meaning; they are inspired by the work they do and they are able to inspire others with it.

Peters and Waterman refer to James MacGregor Burns and his discussion of "transforming leadership" to describe the single most important characteristic of the effective corporate manager. He or she must be able to help workers to look at the minutiae of their daily lives and see purpose, value and life-enhancing meaning in it. These leaders create an environment that permits the company's employees to even see "beauty in a hamburger bun." They provide opportunities for people to grow, to develop self esteem, to care about the friendships they make at work and to be excited participants in work and the world. And that, as the man said, is easier said than done; it explains so well why excellence is not commonplace.

SUMMARY

The Theory Z approach to corporate excellence is a complex and difficult process. It builds upon a foundation of stability, in employment and relationships. It requires a wholistic approach to the product and to the people involved in the process. It demands an institution organized so that people become the center, and a value system that guides the daily activities of thousands of employees. It thrives within a context of participation and involvement. It is present only when leadership makes it possible. Its lifeblood is belief, even faith, and commitment. It confers nobility upon the mundane. Such a process, unfortunately, carries with it no guarantee that those who attempt it will be successful merely for the attempt.

Ouchi summarizes it this way:

> The price of failure is immense, but the profits of success in adopting Theory Z are far greater. These successful Z companies and others like them have forged a response to the Japanese challenge. They have understood that the real challenge from Japan is not to undercut their prices, not to re-automate our plants, not to erect trade barriers. Neither is it to see whether we can mimic the art of Japanese management. The challenge is to understand and to acknowledge a distinctly American approach to management, to realize that it has stayed the same for two hundred years, and to apply our ingenuity to the development of new organizational and managerial solutions. (p. 164)

America is a mass culture held together by the meanings given to, and the successful operation of, complex institutions. When our citizens notice that things are not proceeding as they believe they should, institutions are almost always found to be at fault. Corporate institutions are responsible for many of the problems with the economy. The family is the source of many of the difficulties Americans experience in their personal lives. Religious institutions are criticized when beliefs and values fail to explain life and death. So, too, educational institutions carry an incredibly important burden.

The principles that contribute to the success, or productivity, of one kind of social institution are relevant to an understanding of the effectiveness of others. What we Americans learn about the successful operation of complex corporate institutions can inform us about our schools, and an application of these concepts may help educators improve the institutional lives and the products for which they are responsible. While there are many critically important differences, schools are not completely different from corporations; and educators ignore the similarities at their peril.

The question to consider, at this point, is one of exploring the parallels between schooling and corporate success. It requires an examination of the literature on what might be called educational productivity. There is today, not surprisingly, a concern about the effectiveness of educational institutions that has resulted in the development of a research thrust, in the last half dozen years, that focuses quite sharply on questions of the productivity of schooling.

It is to this question of the nature of school effectiveness that the monograph now turns. The examination of this literature will lead to the last section, where an attempt will be made to pull the two areas together and develop a model for educational productivity that reaches beyond effectiveness.

School Effectiveness

The Condition of the Schools. On October 4, 1957, the world's first satellite, nicknamed "Sputnik," flew into the sky, and a century of confidence in American education came crashing to the ground. For well over a hundred years, Americans had looked to the schools as the foundation of the nation's greatness and the route to individual success and happiness. Suddenly, in the midst of the Cold War, our opponents stunned us with what appeared to be a crushing superiority in education, especially in the areas of science and mathematics. Since that dark October day, things have become continually worse; American confidence in the real productivity of schools has probably never been lower than it is today.

In the decade following Sputnik, educators were told that schooling, especially the area of curriculum, was far too important to be left to teachers and administrators. Scientists from the areas of physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology and mathematics were called together to map a new course of study for American schools (Bruner, 1960). A tidal wave of curricula emerged from the surge of attention to the disciplines of knowledge: the so-called new math and discovery approaches in physics and biology were issued in supposedly teacher-proof packages. Educators were not consulted; they had failed and, therefore, did not deserve to be involved, or so the story went.

In the middle of the "Soaring Sixties," a decade of unprecedented social progress in race relations and human rights, American confidence in the schools plummeted still further. Schools, particularly those for the urban poor, were accused by a host of journalists of bringing about the "death at an early age" of the pupils they taught. The American people read they that were enduring a "crisis in the classroom." Finally, in 1966, what appeared to be the final blow was delivered by James Coleman (1966), from whose work many concluded that differences in school achievement should be attributed almost exclusively to the characteristics of the pupils within a particular school. Race and socioeconomic status, it was argued, were responsible for the variance in achievement from one school to another. Schools didn't matter.

Studying what have come to be called input variables, Coleman and his colleagues concluded (correctly) that traditionally-valued factors such as class size, teacher qualifications, salaries, facilities, number of books in the library, and expenditures per pupil failed to explain much of the observed differences in achievement between schools. Schools and teachers, it seemed, did not make a difference.

Confidence in the schools was further shaken, by the Jencks report (1972), which argued that it really didn't matter that schools made no difference; inequality in America, citizens were told, had its roots elsewhere and the schools could do little to change that. Cultural depri-

viation was the problem. The sources of school achievement were attributed solely to factors beyond the control or influence of educators. School teachers and administrators were left wallowing helplessly in a backwater of shame, guilt, and impotence.

It was not long, however, before those negative, self-deprecatory responses were pushed aside, in some, by anger. In February 1973, for example, ten black social scientists under the leadership of Ronald Edmonds (1973) published a response to the conclusions (or misunderstandings) of the social science arguments which had held that schools could or should make little difference in the lives of children. Attacking both the assumptions and the statistics of studies done by Jencks and others, this group declared its belief in the principle of educational equity and set about to discover what they believed to be alternate explanations for differences in achievement. Hence, a decade of research on the topic of school effectiveness now finds an excited and hopeful audience among American educators who believe that schools and teachers do make a difference.

And not a moment too soon, since during the last week of April 1983, the National Commission on Excellence in Education released the most recent, and perhaps the most severely critical, attack on American schools. Entitled "A Nation at Risk," the report, as reprinted in *Education Week* (1983), began this way:

> Our nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science and technological innovations is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. (p. 12)

The report continued by arguing that, while Americans have a right to be proud of the contribution schools and colleges have historically made to American life, "the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a people." The schools are so poor, the report blared, that if the present educational system had been forced upon us by a foreign power, we would have considered it "an act of war." Describing the risk we face as a society, the report declared:

> History is not kind to idlers . . . The risk is not only that the Japanese make automobiles more efficiently than Americans and have government subsidies for development and export. It is not just that the South Koreans recently built the world's most efficient steel mill, or that American machine tools, once the pride of the world, are being displaced by German products. It is also that these developments signify a redistribution of trained capability throughout the globe. Knowledge, learning, information, and skilled intelligence are the new raw materials of international commerce and are spreading throughout the world as vigorously as miracle drugs, synthetic fertilizers, and blue jeans did

earlier. If only to keep and improve on the slim competitive edge we still retain in world markets, we must dedicate ourselves to the reform of our educational system for the benefit of all—old and young alike, affluent and poor, majority and minority. (p. 12)

Early Efforts at Effectiveness Research. Little wonder that beleagured educators, teachers and administrators together, have turned to the recent research on school effectiveness with a yearning that can be compared to that of a battered boxer waiting for the bell. Knocked to their professional knees, educators appear to be making one final attempt, before the match is finally over, to rise and assert their collective worth. They ask, do our schools and the teachers and administrators in them really make a difference?

Without attempting to deny the incredibly powerful influences of home and family background, educational researchers have, in the last decade, attempted to demonstrate that the outcomes of education are not totally and exclusively tied to the factors of race and socioeconomic status. Weber (1971) conducted one of the first attempts to demonstrate that schools and the professionals within them could transcend the narrow confines imposed by the "home effect." Much of the research that followed this benchmark study has continued to use achievement in basic skills by children in inner-city schools as the focus for studies of school effectiveness.

Because so much of the recent criticism of American schools had been aimed at the failure to properly educate the children of the urban poor and because the continuing criticism of the educational system led to a national chorus of "back to the basics," most researchers have adopted a definition of an effective school as one in which poor and minority group children achieve, in the basic skills, at least as well as the children of the middle class. Weber (1971) was among the first to attempt to find schools where they were no achievement distinctions based solely on race or class.

Weber did find and describe four such schools, in New York, Los Angeles, and Kansas City. Based on a measure of reading achievement, he discovered that a significant number of poor children in these four schools were scoring substantially above national reading norms. To confirm these findings, Weber devised a test which showed that student reading ability in the four schools was similar to that of students in middle-class schools. If race and socioeconomic status were the sole determining factors in school achievement, as educators had been told, such results were impossible. Something happening within the school must be the determinant, at least in large part, of the success these students experienced.

Following interviews with the staffs of the four schools and observations of classes within them, Weber concluded that there were several characteristics that the four schools appeared to share. There was

a strong emphasis on reading. The schools were quiet and orderly. Frequent evaluations of pupil progress were conducted. Strong administrative leadership was in evidence. All four schools seemed to have high expectations for the achievement of their students. Weber also identified additional reading personnel, the phonics approach, and individualized instruction as important to achievement in the four schools he studied, but these last factors have not been affirmed in later work.

Encouraged by the modest successes of studies such as Weber's, the New York State Office of Education Performance Review (1975) published a study that added evidence to the case for what might be called the "school effect." Following Weber's sample, this study (and all of the others that follow the school effectiveness trail) did not examine input variables such as student characteristics or other qualities beyond educators' control. Based on the belief that effective schools did something different, the focus of this research has come to rest on what are known as process variables. If schools did, indeed, make a difference, effective schools must do something different than their less effective counterparts.

The New York study looked at two very different schools, both serving predominantly poor pupils. One of the schools had a record of high achievement; pupils in the other were scored much lower. With the "home effect" held constant, researchers attempted to study what differences in the schools might be responsible for the discovered variance in achievement. The following findings were reported (Edmonds, 1979):

1) the differences in student performance in these two schools seemed to be attributed to factors under the school's control;
2) administrative behavior, policies and practices appeared to have a significant impact on school effectiveness;
3) the more effective inner city school had an administrative team which provided a good balance between both management and instructional skills;
4) the administrative team in the more effective school had developed a plan for dealing with reading problems and had implemented the plan throughout the school;
5) many professional personnel in the less effective school attributed children's reading problems to outside factors and were pessimistic about their ability to have an impact, creating an environment in which children failed because they were not expected to succeed. However, in the more effective school, teachers were less skeptical about their ability to have an impact on children.

By 1976, the momentum of the school effectiveness research effort had begun to build. That year the State of California published a study (Madden, Lawson and Sweet) which matched 21 pairs of schools on the basis of similar pupil characteristics, but with significantly different

levels of academic achievement in the basic skills. Effective schools, those with high achievement, differed from the less effective schools in five major ways. In the more effective schools (Sweeney, 1982);

1) teachers reported receiving significantly more support;
2) there was an atmosphere conducive to learning;
3) the principal had more impact on educational decision-making;
4) there was more evidence of pupil progress monitoring;
5) there was more emphasis on achievement.

About this time, the late Ronald Edmonds emerged as one of the most important leaders in the study of effective schools. Holding firmly to the belief that all children, except those certified to be handicapped, can learn what schools have to teach, Edmonds launched the "Search for Effective Schools" project. In a study of twenty elementary schools in Detroit's Model Cities Neighborhood, Edmonds and others concluded that "in and of itself, pupil family background neither causes nor precludes elementary school instructional effectiveness" (1977, p. 1).

The second phase of this project focused on a reanalysis of the data from the original 1966 Equal Opportunity Survey. From one segment of the schools in the original Coleman study, Edmonds identified 55 schools that were effective in spite of what might have been predicted by the racial and socioeconomic backgrounds of the students therein. Large differences in performance could not be attributed to differences in the social class or family background of the students.

Hoover (1978) supported the emerging case for effective schools by reporting a study of fifteen inner city black schools whose students were, in signficant numbers, reading at grade level. Hoover catalogued the reasons usually given for lower reading levels for black students, rejecting as spurious a whole host of so-called explanations for the failure of black students:

their IQs are too low	they're poor
their language is broken	they're emotionally disturbed
they can't think abstractly	they're unmotivated
their homes are too noisy	they're violent
they're culturally deprived	they're passive
their parents don't care	their oral tradition

Hoover also rejected, on the evidence of successful urban schools, the arguments for school failure that blame the system:

teachers have negative attitudes
teachers don't care
texts don't match Black English
teachers don't understand Black culture
textbooks are biased
tests are biased
diagnosis is faulty

administrators don't care
schools aren't community controlled
progressive education is destructive

Instead, Hoover argued that while of all of the above factors may exert some influence, they are not the factors more directly responsible for low achievement. If these factors did determine achievement, there would be no schools that were able to demonstrate high levels of achievement with predominantly poor and minority group children. Such schools do exist, Hoover argued, and they are distinguished from less effective schools by several characteristics. Productive schools tend to use a highly structured approach to the teaching of reading. These schools display what might be called a group-oriented philosophy that attempts to raise the level of academic expectations among the children and the staff. Group approaches to teaching are also common in schools that are effective with minority pupils. Order and discipline are present. School administrators are highly supportive of the value system and curriculum of the school.

Recent Research on School Effectiveness

The landmark efforts of Wilbur Brookover, Lawrence Lezotte and their colleagues (1977, 1979, 1982) added significantly to the force of the thrust building up in the school effectiveness literature. In a series of studies, Brookover and Lezotte present firm evidence that race and socioeconomic status, rather than determinants of academic achievement, act as proxies, as stand-ins for what really matters. From studies involving dozens of schools and thousands of pupils, these reseachers conclude that the school structure and the learning climate which results are the real determinants of school achievement.

Emphasizing the nature of the school as a social system, Brookover and Lezotte turn again and again to the topic of school learning climate as the predominant, distinguishing characteristics of productive schools. School norms, beliefs, and attitudes shape the behavior of administrators, teachers, and students; this behavior leads in turn to higher or lower levels of academic achievement. Several such beliefs appear to be significant in their effects on learning:

1. Beliefs of teachers about the learning potential of students.
2. Beliefs of teachers about their own ability to teach students the intended essential skills.
3. Beliefs of teachers about the role of the school in society.
4. Beliefs which students hold about their own academic ability.
5. Beliefs which students hold about the academic expectations of teachers.
6. Beliefs which students hold about the likelihood of their opportunity to succeed in a particular school.

7. Beliefs which school principals hold about the parent concern for quality education.
8. Beliefs which school principals hold about the learning potential of students.

In the same year, a study of English secondary schools was published (Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, and Smith, 1979) which confirmed much of the conclusions reached by Brookover and Lezotte. One of the few longitudinal studies, carried out from 1970 to 1974, Rutter and his colleagues attempted to study 1500 students in twelve inner-city London junior high schools. The analysis emphasized the outcomes of attendance, behavior in school, achievement and delinquency as measures of productivity. In spite of the common family background and socioeconomic status of their students, similar school physical and administrative features, and previous school achievement, significant differences in school effectiveness were reported in the *Fifteen Thousand Hours* manuscript.

Among the important distinguishing features of truly productive schools in London were (Rutter, 1979):

Pupils reported being rewarded more frequently.

Pupils received more opportunity to enjoy a pleasant and comfortable environment for learning. This included simple things like phone privileges, availability of hot drinks, school decorations, school outings, and an approachable staff.

Responsibilities and participation opportunities (e.g., school assemblies) were more frequent.

Pupils were able to maintain a stable friendship group from year to year.

The staff engaged in significantly more joint planning for student learning.

Rutter reports that the above factors have their effect, powerful though it is, in an indirect way. Each of these factors (and others) combine, synergistically, to produce a cumulative effect that is greater than any individual effect, and greater than the sum of the individual effects. Effective schools develop what Rutter calls an "ethos," which becomes characteristic of the school as a whole in much the same way that Brookover and his colleagues described a school learning climate.

Schools that contribute to student progress in significant ways are characterized by a system of values and norms that support achievement and appropriate behavior. They do so by creating a situation in which students see themselves as a part of a school group that believes in these values and is supportive of those norms. Students who see themselves as important members of an important and positive group within the school are more likely to share the educational perspective

of the school staff. Such students are, consequently, more likely to demonstrate higher achievement in school subjects, lower levels of absenteeism, better behavior in school and lower levels of delinquency.

In an analysis of approximately forty schools of all types, in the Chicago area, Wynne (1981) reported a summary finding that continued to develop the theme of ethos and school learning climate evolving in the work of Rutter and Brookover. Using the term "coherence," Wynne described so-called good schools as places where the predominantly positive milieu held the school together in a manner that could not be explained by isolating single factors. Good schools, writes Wynne, are characterized by the following:

Hiring practices that tended to insure that new employees were likely to be "socially and philosophically congenial."

Authority and decision-making were frequently shared by members of the school staff in addition to the school principal.

The process of conceptualizing goals appropriate for good schools assumed a critical importance.

Goals that highlighted general concepts such as enthusiasm, caring and professionalism were translated into operational terms that assured greater faculty concerted action.

A variety of strategies were used to insure that all members of the staff were informed about activities in the school that deviated from accepted norms and attempts were regularly instituted to bring behavior into conformity with the goals of the school. Supervisors were able to define effective staff performance in clear terms and let staff members know how they were doing.

Vital subgroups of teachers assumed assignments that challenged them and the teachers found opportunity for the rewarding exercise of responsibility.

A wide variety of schoolwide incentives for student learning were utilized.

Maintenance of effective assessment programs identified students and programs that were not performing as they should.

Pupil discipline was the result of elaborate and clear rules that result from a firm staff consensus on what constitutes appropriate behavior.

Extracurricular and student service activities were important. The variety of such activity was impressively diverse.

School spirit was perceived as a vital element of school coherence and the staff worked tirelessly to achieve it.

Few researchers were more active in the research on effective schooling than Ronald Edmonds. As a result of a decade of involvement in the search for and description of productive schools, Edmonds (Brandt, 1982) synthesized his findings to a list of five important facts. These five factors, Edmonds boldy writes, are the results of discoveries, not of theorizing. That is, the characteristics were derived from systematic observation and study of schools that had already demonstrated superiority, according to Edmond's definition.

An effective school, says Edmonds, is one that "brings an equal percentage of its highest and lowest social classes to minimum mastery" (Brandt, 1982, p. 13). Why not be concerned about schools in which both low income and middle income students are doing poorly? Edmonds responds:

> The middle class can be depended on to intervene in any school in which a significant portion of middle class children are not doing well. We rarely encounter schools in which as many as 15 percent of middle class children are failing to achieve minimum mastery. (Brandt, p. 13)

Of the characteristics that lead to school effectiveness, Edmonds gives a great deal of weight to instructional leadership. According to Edmonds, principals of productive schools "spend most of their time out in the school — usually in the classrooms." Suffused with the conviction that their students can learn, these men and women approach learning as a problem to be solved, not as an insurmountable barrier to be lamented. Such school leaders spend a significant portion of their time observing teachers and assisting these same teachers in solving the learning problems their classrooms present.

Along with leadership, Edmonds identifies the existence of a mission, a vision of the school's purpose accepted broadly by the entire staff of the school. More important that the specific nature of the purpose articulated in a particular school is the requirement that teachers know, accept and move to achieve whatever the purpose is. Edmonds states that:

> The point is that any organization is more cohesive if all parties understood its major purpose. Unfortunately, most American schools either don't have a focus or the focus is not articulated in a way that makes it permeate the adult environment (Brandt, p. 13).

The third characteristic which effective schools share, says Edmonds, is a safe and orderly environment. Few would argue that such a requirement is an unreasonable one. Nor will many educators quarrel with Edmonds' fourth characteristic of productive schools: high expections for pupil achievement. It is the fifth item of the list which causes many educators to voice concern.

According to Edmonds, effective schools regularly and closely monitor the success of their programs with the use of standardized tests that focus on the achievement of basic skills. Acknowledging that such tests do not measure all the important outcomes of schooling, or perhaps even the most important ones, Edmonds argues:

> The reality is that poor children especially are sometimes portrayed as having made satisfactory progress when they're actually not even close to mastery. I find that unacceptable. I think it enormously important that students and their parents know how they're doing in relation to what they're required to do. And despite all the limitations of standardized tests, I would argue as forcefully as I can that they are — at this moment — the most realistic, accurate, and equitable basis for portraying individual pupil progress (Brandt, p. 14).

When challenged that reliance on standardized tests too often leads to a slavish attention to the minimum standards instead of instructional excellence, Edmonds argues that while excellence and enrichment are the appropriate goals of American education, for all children, it is hard to imagine a school capable of reaching excellence without first accomplishing the more modest goal of achieving minimum standards in the basic skills. In fact, he says:

> I would take the position that you have to earn the right to experiment with something as precious as excellence. The way you earn it is by just teaching the kids to read and write (Brandt, 1982, p. 14).

As the search for knowledge of school effectiveness continues, it threatens to become a battle of lists, with each researcher or reformer presenting his or her own formula or recipe as the final word for school improvement. In the most recent review of the research of school productivity, Purkey and Smith (1983) warn educators to view the findings with care and caution. The research, they write, agrees with the findings of Coleman, Jencks and others in that it supports the argument that there are many, many variables that have little if any noticeable effects of school achievement. More important, these new studies do not present any evidence to suggest that there are "overall large differences in achievement among existing schools." Furthermore, even when examining the same phenomena, researchers present features of effectiveness that are not always the same.

But, after carefully analyzing and critiquing the existing research in a most comprehensive manner, Purkey and Smith conclude with their own list of what they believe to be reliable factors associated with improving school effectiveness. They preface their summary with a statement in support of the notion of "school culture," as elaborated by Brookover, Rutter, Wynne and others. Schools are, they write, "dy-

namic social systems made up of interrelated factors. This mix of interconnected characteristics is unique to each school and provides each with a definite personality or climate" (p. 440).

Factors in school cultures that are responsible for increasing student achievement can be most usefully divided, say Purkey and Smith, into two groups: organizational or structural variables, and process variables. These authors identify nine factors that fit into the category of organizational or structural components of school effectiveness.:

1. Autonomy at the school level for the faculty and administration in determining how they will pursue the goal of increasing academic achievement.
2. Instructional leadership emanating from the principal or groups of teachers or other supervisors.
3. Staff stability, avoiding the destructiveness that frequent transfers and resignations seem to bring.
4. Curriculum articulation and organization.
5. Schoolwide staff development.
6. Parent involvement and support.
7. Schoolwide recognition of academic success.
8. Maximized learning time.
9. District support.

Purkey and Smith identify four process variables which, they say, deal more directly with the culture of the school. Cautioning readers that school cultures can be different and still promote academic effectiveness and that the culture of any particular school might focus on goals that emphasize something other than achievement in the basic skills, they stress four factors:

1. Collaborative planning and collegial relationships.
2. A sense of community.
3. Clear goals and high expectations commonly shared.
4. Order and discipline.

These four process variables clearly command the confidence of the authors. Purkey and Smith argue that, in addition, these variables do not appear automatically. They emerge slowly, perhaps painstakingly, as individuals become a group and as the group then begins to work toward a set of common goals. It is, they state, a participatory approach toward change, not subject to a recipe handed down from a higher authority.

SUMMARY

This description of the responses to productivity problems in American corporate and educational institutions reveals a number of strik-

ing similarities. Both types of institutions suffer from serious actual or perceived declines in the quality and style with which they respond to public need. From a study of their treatment in the news media, it would be difficult to determine whether American business or American education was the subject of the greater degree of distrust and deprecation. There is more than enough public contempt to share between them. Clearly, they are both believed to be significantly less productive than Americans would wish. There is even a tendency, in each type of institution, to blame the other for its troubles; businessmen blame the schools for failing to prepare youth for effective employment, and school people fault the business community for failing to support the schools in a way that would make excellence in education a possibility.

The comparison goes further. There is an even more striking parallel in the studies which researchers in each field have undertaken in their search for improvement. American corporations have turned to a study of other highly productive competitors like the Japanese. Studies of outstanding examples of productivity there and in the United States have led scholars to attempt to identify the characteristics of the most effective corporations. The work of Ouchi (1981) and Peters and Waterman (1982) are among the more well known examples of what researchers call "outlier studies," research based upon the assumption that what exceptional companies are able to do can be applied to less effective companies.

The school effectiveness effort is cut from the same research cloth. Scholars search for examples of outstanding educational productivity, study them, and conclude that the distinguishing characteristics of such schools can be profitably applied to less successful programs.

Once such characteristics have been identified, professionals in both corporate management and public education rush to implement the findings in their own companies or school districts. Few large American corporations have resisted the urge to move in the directions pointed out by students of excellence in business management. Consultants to these corporations, once ignored, now command five-figure daily fees for their advice and assistance. The more popular journals in education are filled with descriptions of school districts that have implemented the knowledge squeezed so carefully from recent research. Professional associations and individual educational consultants offer workshops and assistance to school districts with, no doubt, considerably less remuneration than corporations provide.

All of this is understandable and would be eminently acceptable were it not for one disturbing, glaring dissimilarity in the trends observable in the two institutions. At the very time that American business has discovered that productivity is intimately tied to treating people as whole, worthwhile human beings, American education seems bent on treating children as if they were products, if not interchangeable parts.

Ironically, American business management seems to be moving in the direction of running corporations more like schools used to be, at the same time school districts are moving in the opposite direction, toward running schools like the corporate model American business is attempting to discard.

If the anonymous, uncaring American factory model, with its assemblyline mentality needs to be replaced, there is little likelihood that becoming even more like the old-fashioned factory will have anything more than the most short-lived positive effects for schools and children. Should we not ask whether we are designing schools which, with this myopic perspective, will turn out a product which is also vulnerable to the "planned obsolescence" that nearly destroyed the American automobile industry? Can we learn anything from Toyota?

Productivity, economy, efficiency and effectiveness ought to be goals appropriate for any institution. If it is possible to manufacture automobiles and steel with these goals and still treat people as the most important part of the process, it is possible that American educators can perform their own obligation to society and do an even better job of keeping the people—children and adults—at the heart of the process, without any sacrifice in effectiveness.

Combining what is being learned about effective corporate management with what researchers are reporting about effectiveness in education should yield a far more superior model for educational improvement than we currently possess. American education should be strengthened and encouraged by what has been learned from our own research. At the same time, if educators are able to incorporate the insights available to them from examples of excellence in the business world, they should emerge with a more powerful paradigm for authentic excellence in education.

The remainder of this monograph attempts to do that, to combine the insights of institutional management in business and education into a tighter but more comprehensive model which might guide both practitioners and researchers as they continue the quest for excellence in education. Hence, the title, *The Theory Z School.*

Part Two:

The Theory Z School

Introduction

The primary impetus for the development of the model presented here arises from the current preoccupation, among some educators, with the search for effectiveness and productivity along what may well prove to be a too narrow and self-defeating pathway. Members of effective institutions, suggested by the successful corporations examined earlier, conceive of their purposes in broad terms, beyond profitability. Staffs of successful schools must, I believe, conceive of their mission in terms that surpass the achievement of the basic skills at almost any cost. Schools must aim beyond effectiveness. The Theory Z model offers one way of conceptualizing such a broader mission.

If there are three different kinds of corporations (J, A, Z), can we discover three similar kinds of schools? Can Ouchi's model be applied to schools as well? Are there schools that fit a Type J and A description?

Developing a profile of a Type J school is not too difficult. A century ago there were probably hundreds of schools in American that fit the model. When our society was predominantly rural and small town in its composition, the one room schoolhouse and other larger versions of the community school served it well. One example may be sufficient; permit me to discuss one I know well.

In a little mining town about fifty miles from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, beginning about a century go, members of several generations of my family lived relatively quiet, simple and happy lives together. In those days, small towns actually fit the description of the term "community." People were born and raised together, with the children of other families who were descendents of the same group of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. The children who began school together in the first grade continued through to the end of school together, either to graduate or drop out earlier and join the work force on their family's farms or in the nearby coal mines. Eventually these young people courted, married, worked, warred, worshipped, had children, grew old and died as members of a quite stable and closely knit community.

Mobility was rare, except for the appearance of new families who had emigrated from other parts of Europe; anonymity was nonexistent. In a community typified by multiple areas of interaction (school, church, armed services, workplace, leisure) children were raised in a tightly-knit web of interpersonal familiarity. School children knew not only the pupils in their classes, but the brothers, sisters, parents and, frequently, the grandparents of their classmates. For those with the right qualifications, it was a pleasant and meaningful life.

The schools in these communities reflected the cohesive nature of the society in which they were embedded. Family life, work relationships and the process of schooling, with all their flaws, overlapped and exerted influence on each other.

In these schools, Type J schools if you wish, there was relatively little question about the goals of education or the expectations for the pupils within them. The curriculum must have been more concrete and specific. Instruction was probably, more often than not, highly structured and predominantly positive. Students knew they were part of a valued enterprise in the life of their community.

Then, about fifty years ago, America changed. From a rural and small town community mode, the society became urban, sophisticated, rapid, complex, multiethnic, cosmopolitan. Life became a very different proposition and the schools attempted to change, to prepare students for the new America. If Type J schools ever existed, they began to disappear. School consolidation, one of the least understood and most dramatic changes in the history of American education, swept across the nation. Hundreds and hundreds of small schools were closed; large school districts encompassing many neighborhoods and communities appeared. The "comprehensive high school" made its debut, and along with it what might be described as the Type A School.

Again, one example may be sufficient. Hundreds of miles away from the little mining town in Pennsylvania, my wife was born and educated in one of the largest cities in the world. So large and so representative of what cities had come to be, residents referred to it as "The City," as if all others were merely imperfect replications of this original. Education in "The City's" comprehensive high school was as different from the one room schoolhouse as it could possibly be.

Opened with great fanfare, "The High School" put local universities to shame with the richness and diversity of its curricular and extracurricular offerings. Because there were almost 6,000 students in the school, the program boasted almost everything that sixteen-and seventeen-year-old students could desire. Other large cities around the country moved quickly to open high schools that were similarly comprehensive.

Unfortunately, "The High School" is now almost unrecognizable, a shell of its former self. It has been bombed, burned, bricked and otherwise brutalized until the building and the program it contains represent a mockery of the great expectations that accompanied the opening of the doors a few years ago. It has become the Edsel of the educational world. Like Braniff airlines, the school confused quality with style; it attempted to offer a curriculum in the absence of community. Productivity could hardly be lower.

Educators will have to endure the passage of enough years to permit an accurate assessment of all the factors that contributed to the failure of the Type A schools in America. There seems to be little doubt in any circle, however, that these schools have fallen short of our aspirations for them.

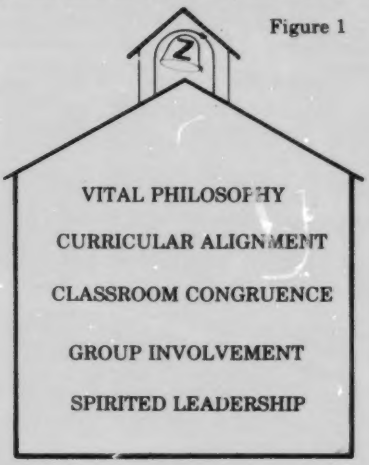
Faced with the apparent failure of the nation's most expensive and

extensive reorganization of the structure of schooling, some educators and members of the public may be tempted to call for the return to the days when the Type J school was common. That would be a mistake of the first order, since the society that supported, and was in turn nurtured, by such schools no longer exists. Nor would any Americans wish to return to the culture of a century ago that made such schools possible; we have made great social progress in human rights and civil liberties, progress that few would willingly relinquish. America has embraced the pluralistic urban culture, and is engaged in what many view to be a historic effort to determine that dramatically different individuals and groups can live together in a viable democratic society. The Type J school would never work now; the Type A school has failed. American education is rife with ferment associated with the search for a model of an authentically productive school, one which will prepare the citizens of the next century with the knowledge, skills and attitudes required for the demanding decades ahead.

The Type Z school may be that model. Like the corporation of the same designation, it attempts to combine the best of both economy of size and an organization that rests on the assumption that people are the most important part of the process. The American corporation of the last century transformed the nation into the wealthiest society in the history of the world; the American school system transformed a largely illiterate citizenry into one of the most well-educated societies the world has ever witnessed. But now the times require a different approach and our corporations, and our schools, must change. The Theory Z approach is a direction worth investigating fully.

The model described in the following pages is composed of five basic parts. At this point it is difficult to think of any one of those components having a more critical role in the successful operation of schools than any other. Nor is it possible in any firm way to suggest an order in which the components might be investigated or implemented.

Figure 1



Components of the Theory Z School

Vital Philosophy

Research on productivity in corporations and schools demonstrates quite clearly that the staffs of the most successful companies and schools are fueled by an energy derived from a clear vision of basic purposes, values and goals of the institution; and by the high level of expectations associated with achievement of those goals. Short term profits and temporary gains in academic achievement are important, since they are the requirements for permission to persist, but such limited successes are not the key to long term viability for either industry or education.

American corporations that have been both profitable and trusted for decades rely on an unflinching commitment to their basic philosophy. It guides what they produce and how they produce it; it keeps them from being seduced into activities and attitudes that might lead to brief market victories but which contribute, ultimately, to long term disaster. The most productive corporations have a mission which includes service to the whole society and a method of operation and expectations that honor the humanity of the employees who contribute to it.

If educators have anything to learn from the study of corporate productivity, it is the crucial significance of these philosophical commitments. When the most profitable companies in the world trace their successes to their basic values, when the world of "hard ball" and "bottom line" operations is demonstrated to depend on philosophical commitment, how much more urgently must educators reexamine their own values and expectations? What are the purposes of schools which reach beyond effectiveness? What are the goals sought, and the beliefs held, by staff members in authentically productive schools?

The Theory Z School is a place with a mission, emanating from a clear commitment to a broad and comprehensive vision of the broader purposes of education. While learning continues to be the primary purpose for schools in the American society, this goal is far more complex and multifaceted than the current almost exclusive focus on achievement in the basic skills. Faculty members in Theory Z School recognize this complexity and act upon it, refusing to be compromised for any single short term success, no matter how central it may be. The philosophy of the Type Z school reflects three continuing commitments, interpreting the American educational mandate in the most comprehensive terms.

Excellence. There is no lack of evidence that Americans want schools to strive for excellence. The most recent, and perhaps the most strident, exhortation of this type is contained in the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education. Concluding that "the

educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity," the commission makes recommendations aimed at the restoration of excellence in American education (*Education Week*, April 27, 1983):

1. That state and local high school graduation requirements be strengthened and that all students seeking a diploma be required to succeed in four years of English, three of mathematics, science and social studies, and one-half year of a new basic, computer science. Two years of a foreign language for the college bound student are also strongly recommended.
2. That schools and colleges adopt more rigorous and measurable standards, and higher expectations, for both academic performance and student conduct.
3. That significantly more school time be devoted to the "new basics," via a longer school day, longer school year and the cessation of many courses that failed to meet these high academic standards.
4. That teachers should be better prepared in these basic academic areas and be treated and paid in ways that would lure more excellent teachers back into education.

Although a few persons have criticized President Reagan's interpretation of the report, no one has come forward to deny the basic contentions of the Commission. There appears to be a consensus in our society, among educators and lay persons alike, that the schools have, in fact, followed much of American industry in a downward spiral of decreasing standards. Educators read with alarm, but not disagreement, the commission's quotation from Paul Copperman:

> Each generation of Americans has outstripped its parents in education, in literacy, and in economic attainment. For the first time in the history of our country, the educational skills of one generation will not surpass, will not equal, will not even approach, those of their parents. (p. 12)

Across the country, individual states and school districts echoed the alarm sounded by the Commission on Excellence. A national newspaper, *USA Today*, summarized the Commission's report as call for a "renaissance of excellence" (*Chronical of Higher Education*, May 11, 1983). *The Wall Street Journal* added up the score even more harshly:

> The liberal educational reformers had a running field as open as it ever gets in the public-policy game, and they blew it. They failed. The state of the schools and the drop in test scores are an unanswerable indictment. Some prominent advocates of these reforms have recanted their earlier claims. And indeed many parents who wouldn't vote for Ronald Reagan with a gun at their heads are ready to fight hard for the kind of conservative change the commission is recommending. (p. 9)

Other national polls and study commissions are reaching conclusions

similar to those of the Commission on Excellence. One complementary report, issued within two weeks of that of the Commission on Excellence, was sponsored by The Twentieth Century Fund, an independent research foundation that conducts studies in the area of public policy. This report also contained "a dark assessment of the state of American public education," along with the message that the situation can only be changed through a new national commitment to education. (*Education Week*, May 11, 1983, p. 1). Another report released the same week, from the National Task Force on Education for Economic Growth, trumpeted (*Time*, May 16, 1983):

> We have expected too little of our schools over the past two decades—and we have gotten too little. (p. 73).

State legislatures and departments of education have begun to move in directions that indicate a similar evaluation of the ills of American education. A dozen states have already made plans to enact stiffer high school graduation requirements and to raise the standard for admission to state university systems. In Florida, frequently described as a bellweather state, the case of "Debra P. vs. Turlington" (again in May, 1983) was resolved with a firm ruling that the state can legally withhold high school diplomas from students who cannot pass the state's minimum standards test. During the same week, the Florida Senate voted 39-0 for the "RAISE" bill (letters which stand for Raise Achievement in Secondary Education), an effort toward greater uniformity and higher standards in the schools of Florida's 67 county-school districts. The contents of the bill have a striking similarity to the recommendations of the Commission on Excellence. There is little doubt that similar efforts are or will soon be underway in almost every state in the union.

If IBM or Frito Lay were to ignore such a strong and unambiguous message from their customers, they would be out of business in no time. Schools which continue to operate as if there were no national consensus on excellence may face the same consequences. A Theory Z School, based in part on the principle of "staying close to the customer," will respond positively and with vigor to such a message. But, in the tradition of our most productive corporations, the response is not a frantic short term effort in which other important goals are abandoned. Excellence may be the most important philosophical commitment of the Type Z school, but it is not the only one, by far.

Equity. American education is committed to the achievement of excellence without abandoning a firm stand for equity. The 200-year-long struggle to ensure equality of opportunity has both constitutional and cultural muscle, strengthened by a flood of federal legislation and funded research. From the Supreme Court decisions of the early Fifties

to the current focus on school effectiveness, the belief has been that American schools can and must demonstrate both quality and equity. Researchers, practitioners and the public reject the desirability of schools in which only a portion of the student population attains excellence, especially if the students who fail to do so can be predicted to be members of a particular race, sex, or socioeconomic group.

A school in which only a portion of the students meets acceptable standards is simply not effective. In authentically effective schools, one sex or social group is not sacrificed for another. Again, the National Commission on Excellence in Education speaks for the majority of Americans when it writes that (*Education Week*, April 27, 1983, p. 12):

> We do not believe that a public commitment to excellence and educational reform must be made at the expense of a strong, public commitment to the equitable treatment of our diverse population. The twin goals of equity and high-quality schooling have profound and practical meaning for our economy and society, and we cannot permit one to yield to other either in principle or practice. To do so would deny young people their chance to learn and live according to their aspirations and abilities. It would also lead to a generalized mediocrity in our society on the one hand or the creation of an undemocratic elitism on the other.

The Theory Z perspective calls for a school which can provide evidence of a firm commitment to equity. A school philosophy, written or otherwise, that fails to contain a clear and unqualified commitment to equity fails to conform to the goals which the American society has set for its educational institutions.

Enrichment. Will Americans be satisfied with a system of schools that successfully improves the reading and math scores of the children of the poor while offering a narrowly academic program of excellence to all who are able? Americans are committed to a renaissance of excellence and to the eradication of education without equity, but will citizens be satisfied when and if the schools accomplish these two incrediby difficult and laudable goals? Will parents, students and educators not ask, "Is that all there is?" The Theory Z perspective includes a continuing commitment to education as an enriching life experience. Historically, citizens and educators have believed that this goal, less attended to in recent years, remains an important end deserving of continued support.

There are indications that few will be content, for long, with these goals alone. A recent comprehensive study of American education, conducted by John Goodlad and his associates (Goodlad, 1983), points to an array of goals for schools in American which cannot be subsumed under current definitions of either excellence or equity. For the last 150 years, documents describing the goals of educatiion in America have included a great deal that extends beyond these more narrow

academic confinements. Goodlad calls attention to the continued affirmation, in current state and district goal statements, of the need for learning experiences which pertain to "democratic processes, enculturation, truth and values, moral integrity, effective use of leisure time, personal flexibility, creativity and aesthetic expression, self-confidence, and the setting of life goals...." (p. 10).

Unfortunately, the results of Goodlad's ambitious study of schooling in contemporary American classrooms leads him to conclude that there is very little evidence that such goals are being given much attention. More probably, Goodlad frets, if current trends in education continue, consisting as they do of ever narrower interpretations of excellence and equity, the consequences will be far less than satisfactory:

> ...the quality of educating in schools will not have improved. Indeed, quite conceivably it could be worse; more boring, less fun, more repetitious, still fewer encounters with significant intellectual problems, even more siphoning of non-academic students into vocational training, and fewer experiences with the arts. (p. 18)

Commenting on the Goodlad study, Vincent Rogers (1983) laments the enormous gap between our lofty goals and our present status:

> Goodlad calls it a "monstrous hypocrisy." This may be too strong a statement. There is almost something sad, something wistful, about our refusal to abandon broader, more idealistic goals for our schools and for our children. It's as if we know in our heart of hearts that these things are right and good, and that we "ought" to be concerned about them. Yet we have enormous difficulty reconciling these goals with the pressure for high test performance in certain aspects of the curriculum. (p. 21)

The goals of the Type Z school are, indeed, complex and multifacted. While some degree of tension and frustration must accompany life in a school devoted to accomplishing more than one goal (resulting from the need to respond more visibly at times to one or another of the goals), no school which attempts to be authentically effective can afford to totally abandon any of the three parts of the mission. In the long run, any school which sacrifices one or two of these goals for a short term gain in the third will be judged to have failed. In the language of a once popular TV show, it may be a "mission impossible," but that is the product our communities seek.

School Learning Climate. Goals, without the commitment to reach them, are meaningless; an energetic commitment, in the absence of a consensus on appropriate goals, is quickly dissipated by the lack of direction. A vital philosophy is composed, therefore, not only of the goals that the members of the school staff seek. The school learning climate which supports the effort to attain those goals is at least as important as the goals themselves. The creation of appropriate school

learning climates, research indicates, is a critical component of productive schools (Lezotte, Miller, Hathaway, and Passalacqua, 1980).

Thinking of schooling as a social experience, rather than as merely the result of the individual abilities of the students, leads to a potentially different and more effective school learning climate. The staff of a Type Z school rejects the notion that race and socioeconomic status are the exclusive determinants of student learning. In such schools, the attitude of hopelessness, the belief that schools cannot make a difference, is replaced by the firm conviction that educators can act in ways which enhance and improve the learning capacities of all students. The staffs in such schools understand that it is the "attitudes, beliefs, norms, evaluations, expectations and values held by the members of the school social system that serve to enhance or impede student learning." (Lezotte, 1980, p. 34)

In schools that enhance learning, no factor is more critical than the expectations that teachers hold for their students. A decade or more of research points dramatically to the fact that what teachers expect, students are likely to learn. In a recent review of the research on school climate (Anderson, 1982), the reviewer concluded that "Without exception the research portrays the high-achieving school as one in which the staff manifests an attitude of confidence that students will be able to succeed academically." (p. 403)

In a series of outstanding research studies, Brookover, Lezotte and their colleagues (1982) reveal a specific set of professional staff beliefs which contribute to increased achievement. Teachers and principals must believe that:

1. All of the students in the school have the capacity to learn what the school has set as the learning objectives.
2. All students must be expected to reach high standards of achievement.
3. Teachers, themselves, have the ability to successfully instruct all students so that they attain the school's objectives.
4. Performance on achievement tests, while an imperfect measure, is nevertheless an appropriate goal and measure of student success.
5. High performance norms for the staff are also appropriate elements in the promotion of achievement, and that the faculty must actively counteract apathy, negative attitudes and inferior performance among themselves.
6. The job of producing high achievement for all students is a professional obligation, no matter what it requires.

There does seem to be a broad base of agreement among researchers and practitioners that teacher expectatons play an extremely important role in connection with student achievement. For various reasons, teachers come to expect certain behavior and attitudes from particular students. This set of expectations leads the teacher, it appears, to act

in different ways toward different students, independent of the student's actual ability. The way the teacher acts communicates to the students the behavior and achievement that the techer expects from them, and comes to influence the motivation, achievement and self-concepts of the students. Over a period of time, if this reaction from teachers is consistent, it is likely to shape student behavior in the direction of the expectations. The behavior of students for whom teachers hold high expectations will begin to improve; the behavior and achievement of students from whom the teacher holds low expectations will begin to decline. Eventually, the behavior of the students will conform more and more closely to the original expectations of the teacher, thus completing the circle of a self-fulfilling prophesy (Good, 1981).

In a review of research of the influence of teacher expectations of their own classroom behavior, Good (1981) identified a dozen ways in which teachers appear to vary their behavior toward high or low achieving students:

1. Teachers tend to seat slow students farther from the teacher.
2. Teachers tend to pay less attention to slower students during academic situations.
3. Teachers call on low achieving students less often, and are less likely to ask them to give classroom demonstrations.
4. Teachers give low-achieving students less time to answer questions during a discussion ses[illegible].
5. When low-achieving students give a wrong answer, teachers tend to move on to another student more quickly, giving the slow student fewer clues or follow-up questions.
6. Teachers criticize low-achieving students more when the student gives a wrong answer in a class recitation period.
7. When correct, the low-achieving student tends to receive less praise from the teacher.
8. Teachers tend to provide low-achieving students with more gratuitous praise.
9. Teachers tend to provide low-achieving students with less accurate and less detailed feedback.
10. Teachers tend to fail to give low-achieving students any feedback more frequently than they do with high-achieving students.
11. Teachers tend to demand less work and effort from low-achieving students.
12. Teachers tend to interrupt low-achieving students more frequently than high-achieving students.

None of the above teacher behaviors is necessarily conscious or intentional, of course; and not all teachers treat low and high achieving students in these ways. But, to the degree that such behavior is more or less typical of today's teachers, low-achieving students may be being

taught to be passive, to take fewer risks, to participate as marginal members of the class from month to month and year to year. They then learn less.

Teacher expectations appear to be shaped, themselves, by a variety of influences. Among the more forceful may be: personality traits of teachers; beliefs teachers hold about social groups; educational concepts and beliefs; and, the ways in which schools group, test, and otherwise classify students. Summarizing the sources identified by others, Brookover and his colleagues (1982) list a number of factors which may influence teachers' expectations:

1. The tendency to have lower expectations for boys in elementary school and for girls in later years.
2. The effects of socioeconomic class, including parental education, occupation and home setting.
3. Race—lower expectations for minority students.
4. Information contained in permanent records.
5. Comments from other teachers and administrators.
6. Associating students in urban and rural schools with lower achievement.
7. Appearance–style, quality and condition of clothing; grooming, odor, neatness, etc.
8. Student behavior.
9. Teacher training and later socialization by experienced teachers whose expectations have already been formed.
10. School practices, like grouping, that imply differences in ability rather than achievement.

All of this adds up to an important factor researchers (Ashton and Webb, 1982) are defining as the teacher's "sense of efficacy." This includes both the teacher's beliefs about the abilities of the students, and the teacher's confidence in his or her own ability to motivate and instruct students in a way that will achieve the objectives of the school. Teachers who believe that their students can learn what is to be taught, and who believe that they themselves have the ability to teach these students successfully, are likely to act in ways that lead to higher achievement. Teachers who feel helpless, concluding that the students are incapable of meeting the demands of the school or that they are unable to teach them successfully, act in ways that lead to lower academic achievement.

The most effective teachers are likely to disagree with the statement "When it comes right down to it, a teacher can't do much because most of a student's motivation and performance depends on his or her home environment." Similarly, the most effective teachers are more likely to agree that "If I really try hard, I can get through to even the most difficult or unmotivated students" (Ashton and Webb, 1982, p. 3).

Teachers may be the most important factor in the area of expectations but they are not the only significant factor. Students' beliefs and

expectations may exert a strong influence on their behavior and consequent high or low achievement. Again, Wilbur Brookover and his colleagues (1979) play an important role in identifying the important areas for concern.

Brookover identifies four areas of student beliefs and expectations that appear to influence learning as much as or more than factors such as race and socioeconomic status. First, student achievement appears to be influenced strongly by what students believe about the expectations for their current learning that are held by others important to them—their parents, teachers, and peers. Second, students are influenced equally by what they believe others think about their chances for academic success in the future, especially those beliefs about the likelihood of their success in college. Third, students are influenced by what they believe about whether or not success is really possible in a particular classroom or school, "if they really try hard." Finally, students' academic achievement is determined, in part, by what students believe and accept about the academic norms of the school; perception of and acceptance of high norms for academic achievement lead to higher levels of student learning.

Statements like the following are likely to be characteristic of students who manifest higher academic achievement:

"This school expects me to work hard and to learn a lot."
"My teachers expect me to do well this year."
"My teachers and parents expect me to go to college."
"I can succeed in this school, if I really try."

Summary

In the Type Z school, the goals and expectations for learning are comprehensive and positive, accompanied by a thorough staff consensus about the validity of beliefs that make up the philosophy and an energetic commitment to reach the stated written goals. The staff is dedicated to high standards, to educational equity, and to an enriched curriculum. Students and staff believe, and act, as if student achievement was independent of the race and socioeconomic status of the students in the school. The teachers expect to make a significant and positive difference in the lives of the students. The students do their best to live up to these high standards and expectations.

Curriculum Alignment

Introduction

The most productive companies in American base their efforts on a common set of beliefs and goals that spell out the role the company should assume in American society and what it should produce. Type Z corporations spend an incredibly high proportion of their most important resources on making absolutely certain that the company philosophy is understood and accepted by all of the company's employees. Walt Disney Productions, for example, is reported to devote up to 85% of its marketing resources to informing and orienting its own employees to the philosophy of the company, leaving only 15% to spend on advertising to the general public. Successful corporate managers insist that the actions of their employees fit the basic commitments of the company.

So, too, Type Z schools begin with a vital philosophy which states the central goals of the school, derived from the wishes of the people in the community and the state in which the school is located. These productive schools want to insure that what actually happens in the schools reflects the goals that have been carefully developed. Curriculum alignment is the central process of determining that what is taught in the schools does fit carefully into the goals and beliefs of the parents and the community.

The Theory Z school accepts the broad goals for education endorsed by the community. Faculty members expect to help students reach for excellence, to encounter enriching school experiences through the curriculum, and to work vigorously to ensure that all students, regardless of their race or socio-economic status, achieve the minimum standards for promotion to the next level of education. The Z schools may focus more sharply, for a time, on one major goal of the school, but they will vigorously resist the temptation to capriciously abandon the others, knowing full well that the public maintains a permanent interest in all three areas.

School effectiveness efforts, aiming at improving the ability of urban schools to educate the children of the poor, deserve all the attention they are currently receiving. Recent public statements, however, like the report of the National Commission of Excellence in Education, indicate that the public has not forgotten the mandate it has given to schools to aim for excellence as well as equity. The studies of school curriculum done by Goodlad and his colleagues lend support to the case that American parents have begun to shift their concerns to an interest in excellence and enrichment as well as equity.

A recent study of parent and community priorities for the schools (Guerriero, 1980) indicates that, in spite of strong support for improv-

ing the quality of urban education in the areas of basic skills, public priorities are still very much the same as they have always been. When asked to identify the priorities for schooling that they believed to be indispensable, parents and community members came up with a list that is not unlike the Seven Cardinal Principles of over a half century ago. The survey showed that health, societal responsibility, and self-esteem are as important to parents, as educational goals for their children, as they ever were, and that the public believes that these goals are even more important than basic skills.

The Curriculum Alignment Process

Theory Z schools engage in a process of curriculum alignment that has three basic components. It begins with the derivation, from the goals of the school, of a written curriculum plan that is both comprehensive and inclusive. It follows with a matching plan for the asseessment of learning. It is completed by efforts to recognize and reward student learning, and with a process for program improvement, for a revision and realignment of the curriculum to conform more completely with the goals of the school.

Curriculum alignment means, then, that there is a match between what the school philosophy says the teacher should teach, what the teacher does teach, and what the students actually learn. It is an effort at what corporations call quality control, but in schools it means that school districts and individual schools are able to narrow the gap between desired and actual student achievement.

Few states have taken a more active interest in the attempt to stimulate the process of curriculum alignment than has Colorado. The Colorado State Department of Education (Frazier, 1982) has developed an instrument to assist local districts in assessing the educational quality of schools; the device focuses heavily on the curriculum alignment process. That document, which is provided to school faculties, stresses the existence of objectives for learning that are clear, valid and sequenced. The evidence which a school might seek, to determine the extent to which it has been successful in this part of the curriculum alignment process, includes a judgment as to whether:

> There is a written document, derived from the philosophy of the school, which clearly defines specific objectives that students are expected to accomplish.
>
> The specific objectives listed in the curriculum plan indicate standards for mastery for all students, accompanied by procedures for ascertaining the achievement of the objectives.
>
> Teachers, students and parents are given opportunities to provide input into the curriculum development process.

The knowledge, skills and attitudes contained in the objectives are sequenced and specified, with grade level or course standards clearly listed.

The curriculum plan includes specific time lines for evaluation and revision of the curriculum.

The curriculum document is easy for teachers to use in daily planning for instruction.

Textbooks and other materials are matched to the objectives of school.

Many other states have been active in moving forward with curriculum alignment. In a beginning effort to develop an interview format to assess school effectiveness (Villanova, 1981), the design team from Connecticut's State Department of Education explored the use of questions that probed for data clearly related to curriculum alignment, although that specific term was not used. Researchers were interested in whether interviews would reveal, for example, the extent to which the school had a written statement of purpose that served as the "driving force" behind important school decisions. The interview, although still in the process of development, attempted to determine whether specific objectives existed in all subjects (especially reading, language arts, and mathematics), through all grade levels, and whether materials were selected for instruction that were based on the objectives.

Assessment

Once the process of curriculum alignment has accomplished the first step, insuring that the curriculum plan reflects the philosophy of the school, every effort is made to guarantee that what is planned is both taught and learned. Educators in Type Z schools do not shrink from the need to evaluate their efforts, and assessment of student learning is regarded as an important part of the curriculum alignment process. The staffs in such schools admit that the existence of a curriculum plan reflecting the goals of the school is only the first step toward alignment, and that such a written plan falls far short of guaranteeing that the intended learnings have actually occurred.

In many ways, the minimum competency testing programs now underway in almost every state, and the accompanying pressures for educational accountability, are evidence of the public's need for assurance that the schools are doing what they have been asked, that they will deliver what they have promised. Educators in Type Z schools recognize the reasons for the current high levels of public mistrust and apprehension. While they may lament the conditions that brought about such a situation, they also accept the world for what it is and take the initiative to satisfy the community that the schools are delivering the product that the people have ordered.

Type Z schools also assume the position that effective assessment will provide teachers with important feedback, data that are necessary for the school to adjust its programs in the light of what students are or are not learning. There is some evidence in the state of Florida, for example, that its Statewide Assessment Program does assist teachers by providing them with information about student achievement in reading, writing and mathematics. Many schools wisely use this information to add to the teachers' existing resources and better enable them to identify educational needs of their students. Fast turnaround of assessment data, with results back to schools in about six weeks, provides opportunity to look at program strengths and weaknesses while the analysis is still meaningful. Having access to achievement data for each student, grade level, classroom or team, and for the district as a whole permits an assessment that is far more accurate, timely and helpful than ever before. In Florida, achievement scores are rising steadily.

Educators in Type Z schools do not, however, rely solely on the assessments of their programs conducted long distance, at the state or national level. The use of local district or school tests, designed for and by these units, is also important. Educators in Type Z schools work to be certain that these "Ten Precepts in Curriculum Alignment and Assessment" are observed:

1. There is a written statement which describes the purposes, outcomes and the desired uses of the assessment.
2. The purposes of the assessment focus primarily on the goal of program improvement, and results actually influence the design of the curriculum, in classrooms and in the district as a whole. Continuing school and district-wide curriculum improvement efforts are developed and prioritized, based in part, on the results of the assessment program.
3. A variety of measures are used, all of which are congruent with the school's objectives, avoiding the danger of a single instrument exerting a disproportionate influence on the curriculum of the school.
4. Whatever tests are used, they are analyzed and selected to match the objectives of the school's curriculum.
5. Test items that do not match the school's curriculum are eliminated or set aside.
6. Important curriculum objectives not assessed by the other written standardized tests are evaluated by other means: teacher logs, check lists, work samples, performance reports, observations, and other methods.
7. Assessment data are reported in a way that permits comparison with the scores that might be expected, or with other important groups, based on the characteristics of the school and the learners.

8. Assessment data are analyzed and reported in a way that allows schools to demonstrate change over time. Single shot judgments of school quality are assiduously avoided.
9. Assessment is never limited to simple reports of achievement in the basic skills. Affective objectives are equally important, for example, and assessment of these goals is reported in ways that are appropriate.
10. Assessment results, properly assembled, are made public, reported to the school board, and are available for examination by parents at individual schools.

Assessment data have two major uses in the curriculum alignment process: the reinforcement of achievement that has been documented, and the revision of programs to improve the opportunities for achievement in the future. The most highly productive schools and school districts make full use of assessment data for both purposes. Effective schools are especially careful to use the results of assessment data as incentives for continued student effort. Wynne (1981) reports that the good schools he studied used a wide variety of incentives:

> These included honor rolls, honor societies, awards assemblies, mention during daily announcements on the public address system, mention in the student or local newspaper, the frequent publication of class standing, the posting of photos of successful students, and badges, pins, or ribbons awarded and worn on a schoolwide basis. Of course, many of the weaker schools used some of these same tactics. The key difference was the greater amount of resources and energy that good schools dedicated to recognition systems. They gave recognition in a conspicuous and attractive fashion. (p. 381)

Rutter (1979) reported that the most effective schools in urban London worked diligently to alter the balance between rewards and punishments for students, and that while punishment was only slightly related to higher achievement and better student behavior, rewards were very closely related to those desirable ends. Most of the research on school effectiveness in this country affirms the importance of a school climate that accentuates the positive, using assessment data to instill pride in individual accomplishment and in the school as a winning team.

Schools that manage to reorganize themselves so that students see themselves as members of important subgroups in the school (advisory groups, teams, houses) have additional opportunities to use assessment data to reinforce learning. The smaller the groups, and the more numerous such subgroups are, the greater are the chances for finding opportunities to reward almost every student in some meaningful way.

Program Improvement

Behaviorists describe the learning process as a change in behavior

resulting from the continuous interaction of the organism and the environment. Organisms of all sorts — rats, monkeys, pigeons, and people — take the messages they receive from the environment and process them. The organism then adjusts its behavior, and researchers describe this as learning, the result of intelligent behavior. Intelligent school districts use assessment data in the same manner, to change the behavior of schools to conform to what has been learned about their effectiveness.

In Colorado, the Department of Education (Frazier, 1982) has attempted to assist local school districts in the curriculum alignment process, by spelling out specific ways in which assessment data should be used to influence school program improvement. Beginning with the assumption that intelligent improvement must be based on the careful use of assessment data, the Department recommends that districts:

1. Develop a written plan for assessing community and school feelings on program strengths and needs, to supplement the use of standardized tests and other assessment instruments.
2. That this plan be used at both the district and the school level in identifying priorities for school improvement.
3. Encourage the setting of priorities at both the district and the school levels.
4. Find ways to use individual school priorities as an important part of the process in which the school board establishes district priorities.
5. Have a written action plan for program improvement based on established priorities.
6. That each school have a written plan for program improvement based on the district's and the school's priorities.
7. That the school's action plan identifies anticipated results of program improvements when they are implemented.
8. Are certain that a linkage of priorities exists between individual school's and the district's plans.
9. That new assessment data, following program improvement efforts, are used to modify and update both school and district plans.
10. That effective communications exist to report student outcomes and improvement efforts to the staff and the public. Open meetings, news releases and other methods should be used to inform parents and others about priorities and improvement efforts.

Curriculum alignment is an important commitment of the Type Z school, though it is important to reiterate that the emphasis does not rest with basic skills achievement alone. The mission of the Z school is viewed in a much more comprehensive fashion. In such schools, the process of alignment may emphasize basic skills as a foundation, a threshold from which more complex learning objectives naturally

emerge. The continuing accent on excellence, equity, enrichment and a climate of high expectations for all learners that characterizes the Type Z school lends itself to a curriculum plan which expands the student's world of knowledge, critical thinking skills, and the desire to learn through active exploration. The process involves not only the state and district level decision-makers, but also includes teachers and school principals, parents and students in a cooperative effort to identify specific objectives, match them with appropriate instructional materials and methods, and select congruent assessment procedures.

Although districts and schools across the country are increasingly involved in curriculum alignment and assessment, few attempts appear to have been more successful than the Curriculum Alignment Project of the Los Angeles Unified School District (Levine, 1982). Initially implemented at only two schools, the successful results of the effort led to the expansion of the program to over seventy schools. This project is a good example of sharply focused use of the curriculum alignment process, and illustrates the possibilities that arise when the project actually finds it way into classrooms.

The first phase of the project concerned the identification of specific skills to be taught and assessed at each grade level. Initially a district level responsibility, once the skills were identified the problems of how best to teach and measure them became a building level concern. The purposes of the project became: "to align teaching objectives, instruction, and testing, and to devise and introduce inservice training that would help classroom teachers use the program effectively." (Levine, p. 525) The inservice training component of the project was designed to assist the faculty in developing and conducting activities which clarified plans and resolved issues that might arise when teachers attempted to implement a closely aligned curriculum. Grade level meetings of teachers and effective facilitators, which permitted greater teacher input and decision-making, were particularly important.

Teachers in the project were assisted in developing charts that correlated district and school objectives with available teaching materials, and helped to identify skills and knowledge that were not adequately treated in textbooks in use. Teachers became aware of the need to develop or procure supplementary materials, and shared among themselves the most effective materials and textbooks available for their use.

As a result of project efforts, students registered substantial gains in reading and mathematics. After careful observations of schools in the project and elsewhere that had made significant gains in academic achievement, Levine concluded that a large part of the reason for the success of these schools was:

> ...that the staffs of successful inner-city schools had painstakingly aligned their curricular objectives, their teaching materials, and their testing programs...Staffs of successful schools were also pay-

ing close attention to appropriate pacing of instruction...They had taken steps to insure that appropriate instructional materials were easily and immediately available to teachers. They had made explicit efforts to minimize teachers' record-keeping chores. And they had improved the quality of homework assignments and had emphasized parental involvement in students' learning. (p. 525)

Educators in Type Z schools recognize, nevertheless, that minimum standards imposed on the classroom teacher will contribute little to the permanent improvement of learning unless the objectives are incorporated into a curriculum alignment scheme which also gives honor to excellence and enrichment. In such schools, also, the curriculum is never accepted as fully-aligned until it meets the needs and reaches the mind of each individual learner. In successful schools, educators realize, therefore, that curriculum alignment must reflect the pluralistic nature of the society which sends the students to the schools. Gay (1981) suggests some questions that should concern those involved in curriculum alignment in multi-cultural settings:

Does the curriculum, regardless of its alignment, accurately present ethnic groups' experiences, lifestyles and cultures?

Is curriculum concerning ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism evident in all areas of the program?

Is pluralism a critical factor in the selection of instructional materials?

Are ethnically and culturally diverse experiences, content, perspectives, and contexts used to teach the fundamental skills of the various school subjects?

Does the content address similarities and differences within and among ethnic groups? Historical and contemporary perspectives of ethnic experiences? Heroes and heroines as well as the general ethnic population?

Does the content examine both positive and negative aspects of ethnic experiences in American history, heritage, and contemporary life?

Do the libraries and audiovisual centers have accurate and recent materials on ethnicity and cultural pluralism?

Summary

During the earlier decades of this century, interest in curriculum development resulted in the use of literally tons of paper in the production of curriculum guides. In hundreds of school districts, in thousands of schools, and in a hundred thousand classroom closets, the

products of those curriculum development efforts lay dusty, unused and forgotten for decades more. It would be tragic if current interests in curriculum alignment fail, in the long run, to produce more than another generation of unused curriculum guides; endless lists of objectives are worse than meaningless, they erect barriers to meaning. When a group of faculty members and administrators truly comes together philosophically, such documents may be, after all, only minimally related to increases in achievement that emerge. A clear understanding of, and vigorous commitment to a set of significant beliefs about the goals of education, and a devotion to individual children, may make written descriptions of the curriculum almost unnecessary. But apparently most American schools are not at the point where philosophical clarity and commitment permit them to abandon the specificity and accountability that curriculum alignment and objective assessment provide.

Classroom Congruence

Introduction

Research now affirms what master teachers have always known, that teaching is a terribly difficult and complex task, even in the most felicitous situations. Attempting to summarize the style of classroom teaching that is appropriate for Type Z schools may not only be ambitious, it may be impossible. The age and characteristics of the learner, the nature of the subject to be taught, and the preferred style of the teacher are just a few of the variables that make it difficult to prescribe how teaching and learning should be orchestrated. Because it is complex and still poorly understood, and because it is a fundamentally personal activity, teaching will always be an art. But since it is the most important component of the Theory Z School and since research has, in fact, begun to tell us a great deal about teaching, an attempt will be made here to describe a Theory Z classroom. Because of the limitations of space, however, it will be inappropriate to provide anything more than the most modest outline.

A classroom in which learning activities are congruent with the model of the Theory Z School should be a microcosm of the school as a whole. In such a classroom, observers would find a clear sense of purpose shared by the teacher and the students, accompanied by high standards and even higher expectations for success for all the students. There would be a curriculum plan in place which made the goals of the school operational. Teaching itself could be described by the phrase "positive structure." The activities of the teacher and the students would occur within a context of a warm, personal, caring but orderly and business-like environment not unlike the sense of community that should describe the school as a whole. Finally, participants in the learning process would share, to the degree appropriate, a role in the decisions that affected their classroom lives.

Expectations, Planning and Organization

Teachers in the Type Z School plan and organize for learning in specific ways. These teachers begin the year with the firm belief that all of their students will be able to attain the minimum standards of mastery for the year or the course, and that as teachers, they have the skills and the energy to succeed with the students they are given. They accept the goals of the school, the curriculum plans which flow from those goals, and the testing required to determine the levels of achievement students reach. Teachers adopt or develop their own standards for grade level or course mastery, and set about designing an instructional plan that will bring the largest number of students to the highest levels of mastery.

Effective teachers, in this manner, are able to plan and implement

instruction that leads a large percentage of the students to success. This means that the teachers are able to avoid, to the degree it is humanly possible, classes in which those students who fail to attain mastery come largely from poor or minority group families.

These success-oriented expectations lead to certain principles for classroom organization (Brookover, 1982). Recognizing that no new group of students ever comes to a classroom without some range in previous achievement, teachers accept the need to operate within an instructional strategy that includes opportunities for slower or low-achieving students the chance to catch up early in the year. When possible, however, the most effective teachers create classrooms organization patterns that do not result in rigid and unchangeable groupings. These teachers are also able, under supportive conditions, to minimize the differentiation of major instructional materials used within the classroom, so that achievement levels are not affected adversely by the expectations that may result. Acting on these principles is easier for teachers in the Type Z School, since the school itself would be unlikely to have a rigid tracking system based on prior achievement. But it is, of course, much more difficult to construct such a classroom than it is to describe one.

Teachers who establish effective classroom organizations follow a similar path. They begin early, recognizing that good classroom organization produces more effective instruction (Brophy, 1983). They recognize that acting to prevent student academic and behavior problems is much more sensible than attempting to change less successful behavior or achievement once they become established.

They establish routines for collection and distribution of papers and other materials. They implement rules for traffic flow within the classroom. They create procedures that govern the interaction occurring during the day. These teachers take pains, especially, to be certain they have planned in a way that eliminates problems with the dozens of little things that interrupt the momentum of the classroom.

Effective teachers and successful athletic coaches both understand the importance of momentum. Good teachers begin the year, on the first day of school, in a manner that is designed to make the classroom process flow smoothly from then on. Students are properly oriented to the rules and procedures; these aspects of classroom life are as carefully taught as any other important lesson of the year. Teachers follow up immediately, reminding students of proper procedures before rules are broken, and when infractions do occur, effective teachers attend to the problem immediately. Such teachers recognize when student behaviors are likely to lead to interruptions in classroom momentum, and they are especially alert to signs of confusion or inattention.

The positive structure that leads to classroom momentum is not the result of chance, nor does it come about through the occasional use of special gimmicks or techniques:

Rather, it is the result of a systematic approach, which starts with preparation and planning before the school year begins, is implemented initially through systematic communication of expectations and establishment of procedures and routines at the beginning of the year. The approach is maintained not only by consistency in following up on stated expectations but by continually presenting students with well-chosen and well-prepared academic activities that focus their attention during lessons and engage their concentrated efforts during independent work times.

Such a thorough and integrated approach to management, if implemented continuously and linked with similarly thorough and effective instruction, will enable teachers to prevent most problems from occurring in the first place and to handle those that do occur with brief, nondisruptive techniques (Brophy, 1983, p. 271).

Classroom Curriculum Alignment

If it is important for classroom teachers to accept the goals and adopt the expectations which form the philosophy of the Type Z School, it is even more critical that they also implement the process of curriculum alignment in their own settings. Selecting a set of objectives that matches the school goals, sequencing those course objectives and planning appropriate assessment strategies are central functions of effective teachers.

While there are as many varieties of curriculum alignment as there are teachers and subjects, research and experience do seem to suggest some common steps that effective teachers follow. Brookover and his colleagues (1982) offer some research-based procedures designed to lead to content mastery which can be thought of in five steps:

Step 1: Drawing from the district and school objectives, the teacher develops a clear and measurable set of classroom learning objectives for the course, term or year. These objectives are put in writing and shared with the students at the very beginning.

Step 2: The teacher establishes a reasonable standard for mastery (e. g., 80%) and then develops a strategy that anticipates that all of the students will reach or exceed that standard. The so called normal curve is abandoned.

The teacher translates these standards into grade equivalents for various levels of success (e.g., a grade of A or B for reaching the 80% mark), and makes certain that students understand the connection between mastery and grades.

Step 3: The teacher divides the objectives into units of one or more weeks in duration, and within these units, arranges the objectives in order of difficulty, from the easiest to the most

difficult. The teacher plans the units over a period of a year, whenever possible in a manner that provides extra catch-up time for the slower students.

Step 4: The teacher plans whole class instruction in each unit, in whatever style best fits the instructor, and makes certain to develop materials and opportunities for overlearning, remediation and enrichment.

Step 5: The teacher develops formative tests which assess only the skills and knowledge contained in the unit, and summative or mastery tests which serve to determine course or unit grades.

Instruction

In the past ten years there have been a number of important discoveries about effective instruction. What educators have learned can be described as discoveries in the sense that it has resulted from observing the actual classroom behavior of outstandingly effective teachers, rather than from theorizing about the process. Many of the nation's most outstanding educational researchers have been involved in the process: Donald Medley, Jere Brophy, Thomas Good, Donald Grouws, Carolyn Evertson, Frederick McDonald, Penelope Peterson, Robert Soar, Barak Rosenshine, and others too numerous to name.

Admittedly, the knowledge of teaching amassed thus far is incredibly small compared to what is needed. Knowledge of effective instruction in highly complex cognitive areas, for example, is embarrassingly lacking. The ability to assist teachers in inculcating appropriate attitudes is negligible. Certainty about how to enhance creativity, appreciation or student self-esteem is quite limited. But, fortunately, in some other areas commonly regarded as among the most challenging tasks in education, the knowledge base has begun to grow.

In the area of instruction and its relationship to basic academic achievement, the most effective practices can be fairly easily described. In the most recent review of this literature, Rosenshine (1983) identifies six teaching functions that do appear to be effective when pursued with vigor and used systematically. Rosenshine describes effective teaching this way:

Step 1: *Introduction*. The teacher begins every lesson with a daily review, including a homework check and time devoted to reteaching areas where students made mistakes.

Step 2: *Presentation*. The teacher presents new material to the whole class, beginning with an overview and moving forward in steps that fit the general ability level of the students in the class. The best teachers know the students and the material well enough to phase in new material so that it dovetails with what is already known. The teacher makes every effort, with instructions and explanations, to be sure

that the largest possible portion of the students grasp what is being introduced.

Step 3: *Guided practice.* The teacher takes the required amount of time to ask questions of the students to determine how effectively the presentation was received. The maximum possible number of students are involved in this recitation, so that the teacher can accurately assess the degree to which students understand the lesson.

Step 4: *Reteaching.* When there are many errors made in guided practice, the teacher will review and reexplain the lesson, so that errors do not go uncorrected.

Step 5: *Independent practice.* Once the teacher has reached the limits of time reasonably spent in reteaching, students are permitted to practice independently in what is commonly referred to as seatwork. During this period the teacher monitors the classroom very carefully. The instructor provides new problems or introduces parallel skills. This is the time for individual or small group reteaching that would have been inappropriate or impossible within the whole class context.

Step 6: *Periodic review.* Weekly, if necessary, and monthly for certain, the first five steps may be repeated.

The six steps just described may seem to indicate that effective teaching is synonymous with teacher-directed whole class instruction, and that other modes of teaching that involve students working together in small groups or learning independently are to be avoided. Such is not the case. There is not, never has been, and never will be one right way to teach every subject to every student. Current research assists us in understanding something of the practices that support improved achievement is skill subjects, but even here there is a great deal of latitude for teacher decision-making.

Teachers do, nevertheless, make a difference in the academic achievement of their students. Different patterns of teacher behavior seem to be related to different degrees of learning, in different subject areas. What teachers do influences the behavior of students; student behavior leads, in its diversity, to either greater or lesser degress of achievement. At the bottom of it all, however, seems to be the understanding that "positive structure" in the classroom, however it is obtained, leads to more effective learning.

Effective teachers, then, regardless of the particular methodology they prefer, manage their instruction in ways which result in high levels of on-task behavior combined with low levels of negative teacher affect. They maintain a business-like atmosphere, while avoiding extreme levels of either praise or punishment. The students spend the maximum amount of time pursuing the objectives set forth by the

teachers, in a positively structured atmosphere where tension and anxiety are low. These teachers, it could be said, control student behavior and attention tightly but not coercively or punitively.

In academic classrooms such as these there is usually less freedom of movement and less inappropriate physical activity in general. Students follow clearly understood routines, with a minimum of small group socializing, and therefore, a minimum of teacher interruptions or interventions. The momentum of the lesson-oriented activity continues for reasonably long periods of time.

Because what students do is essential to what students learn, effective teachers work hard to maintain high levels of task-oriented student effort. Learning is a process that takes place in time, and pupil time must be carefully conserved and effectively managed. The consensus of current research yields a number of insights about the teacher's use of pupils' time in the classroom:

1. Teachers should aim for the development of a classroom atmosphere that clearly recognizes the importance of academic work.
2. For many classroom teachers, it appears easier to achieve the higher levels of on-task behavior by using whole class teacher-directed instruction. When done well, individualized instruction and discovery modes can be equally effective, but these methods usually require considerably more talent and effort from teachers.
3. Time spent by students doing seatwork must be handled with extreme care. To be effective, teachers must design seatwork activity so that extremely high success levels are the norm. Student behavior must be more carefully monitored during seatwork than many teachers now realize.
4. A great deal of time potentially available for instruction is used up by transitions and breaks. Many good teachers manage to squeeze up to 20 extra minutes or more a day by handling transitions and breaks more carefully. But the most successful way to increase learning time is to increase student attention and effort when they are already involved in an assignment, rather than by eliminating a few minutes from rest or relaxation.

A number of other studies suggest further considerations for teachers interested in maximizing the time available for learning:

1. When teaching skills or knowledge that is at the simplest cognitive levels (i.e. recall), teachers are more effective when asking simple, short questions which result in relatively high success rates.
2. Teachers should structure question and answer sessions carefully, so that all students are as involved as possible. Using a systematic way to be certain to call on all students is an important technique.
3. Teachers should not dwell on student-initiated questions. Answer these questions in the form they are asked, and move on. Too

much attention to too many student-initiated questions breaks the momentum and encourages uninvolved students to attend to other things.

What is described here is quite traditional a model for modern classrooms. It presumes a commitment on the part of the teacher to bring a maximum number of students to acceptable levels of mastery, without sacrificing either fast or slow learners to the needs of the other. This model does not, it bears repeating, preclude the use of small group or individualized instruction strategies as long as those techniques can be applied so that equally high levels of on task behavior are reached, with equally low levels of negative teacher affect.

In fact, classroom observations indicate that the very best teachers (defined as those whose students achieve the highest) rely heavily on whole class teacher-directed instruction. But, unfortunately, the least effective teachers also rely heavily on the same strategy. So it is clearly not the superiority of one teaching method that research supports. It is the carefully planned, positively structured high-momentum classroom that works best.

Individualized instruction methodologies that follow what has come to be called a mastery learning approach (Bloom, 1981) appear to be especially effective. Small group, team-oriented methods of the kind developed and recommended by the Center for the Study of the Social Organization of Schools, at John Hopkins University (Slavin, 1980) seem to be particularly successful ways to raise the levels of academic achievement while pursuing affective and social objectives as well. There is some reason to believe that it is the highly structured, maximum-success nature of these two alternatives that may be responsible for their special usefulness.

Person-Centered Alternatives

No matter what method one chooses, or the care with which it is applied, no teacher can be completely successful without close attention to the affective side of the classroom. It has always been recognized, though less frequently substantiated by research, that effective teachers manage groups without forgetting the characteristics and needs of the individual children in each class. The favorite teachers of most students, past or present, tend to be identified as persons who were warm, caring and personal; teachers who took an authentic interest in each child and their needs.

It should not, then, be surprising to note the continuing popularity of what some describe as the person-centered approach to teaching (Rogers, 1983). This approach emphasizes the goals of the student, rather than the goals of the school or the teacher. It prizes decision-making by children and youth rather than restricting the process to adults. It advocates treating pupils as if they were whole human beings

capable of contributing a great deal to the direction and management of their own lives, inside and outside of the classroom. It focuses on the development of instructional strategies that facilitate rather than direct, and the person-centered approach to teaching aims toward the development of whole human beings in authentically caring communities;.

Carl Rogers, considered by many to be the major spokesman for person-centered approaches to learning, describes it this way:

> It believes in young people. It gives evidence that in a genuinely human climate, which the teacher can initiate, a young person can find him or herself respected, can make responsible choices, can experience the excitement of learning, can lay the basis for living as an effective concerned citizen, well informed, competent in knowledge and skills, confident in facing the future.

Summarizing the aims of the person-centered approach in the modern classroom, Rogers describes a process of teaching and learning that is perfectly congruent with the Theory Z approach advocated here:

> It aims toward a climate of trust in the classroom in which curiosity and the natural desire to learn can be nourished and enhanced.
>
> It aims toward a participatory mode of decision-making in all aspects of learning in which student, teachers, and administrators each have a part.
>
> It aims toward helping students to prize themselves, to build their confidence and self-esteem.
>
> It aims toward uncovering the excitement in intellectual and emotional discovery, which leads students to become life-long learners.
>
> It aims toward developing in teachers the attitudes research has shown to be most effective in facilitating learning.
>
> It aims toward helping teachers to grow as persons, finding rich satisfaction in their interaction with learners.
>
> Even more deeply, it aims toward an awareness that, for all of us, the good life is within, not something which is dependent on outside sources. (p. 3)

In the spirit which Rogers exemplifies, the Theory Z approach to education acknowledges that there is a great difference between being effective and being an inspiring and life-enriching teacher. While we begin to assemble the knowledge of the teacher behaviors and attitudes which lead to successful student learning in the basic skills, it would

be a tragedy if educators settled for what are, in the truest sense, merely the minimum standards for competent teaching. Mastery for teachers means much more than the ability to assist students in attaining mastery of the basic skills measured on standarized tests.

Summary

Developing a classroom congruent with the Type Z school is a complex and demanding task. It requires an unparalleled and unquenchable optimism with the energy and enthusiasm to match. It demands tremendous organizational skills. It depends on the capacity to teach with creativity and flexibility. It flowers only in circumstances where teachers help their students develop the same self-esteem. It is a milieu in which both teachers and students can move beyond effectiveness.

Group Involvement

Group Involvement and Productivity

It appears that the American corporate world has learned its lesson—productivity doesn't matter unless people do. Studies of corporate productivity, in America and elsewhere, call unanimously for a crucial reconsideration of the person at the center of the industrial effort. Beginning at least a decade ago, with E. F. Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics As If People Mattered* (1973), students of corporate institutions began to discuss the importance of decentralization, holistic involvement of workers, teamwork and participatory decision-making. Consequently, most of the exciting new developments in American corporate life focus on the elevation of people to a place of renewed significance in the productive process.

Recent scholarship from a host of social critics echoes this same call. Anthropologist Marvin Harris (1981) sees the need for massive decentralization in American industry, permitting people to work together as whole persons in less anonymous, less amorphous, more personal groups. Futurist John Naisbett, in the best-selling book *Megatrends* (1982), argues that America is turning in the direction of decentralization, of networking as opposed to massive bureaucracy, to participatory decision-making, and to what he calls "high touch" responses to the avalanche of high technology we live with.

Sociologist Amitai Etzioni, nationally recognized as a leader in the analysis of public policy in America, and a Senior Advisor to the White House in 1979 and 1980, offers a similar thesis in his new book, *An Immodest Agenda: Rebuilding America Before the 21st Century* (1983). In essence, Etzioni argues that America has become "hollow," that we have turned our backs on the concept of community in favor of an obsessive self-centeredness and excessive individualism. Our renewal as a society depends upon the recreation of what Etzioni describes as "mutuality" and "civility." People need to be a part of a community; they create it and are created by it.

American society has deteriorated, Etzioni argues, because it has ignored traditional relationships. We cannot survive as a people or as individuals without recognizing the requirement of living life as a process involving shared concerns. Members of our society must relearn, he says, how to play by the rules, how to be willing to contribute personal resources to public needs, and how crucial it is, for the person and the society, for each American to become involved in shaping public commitments and issues. Much of this relearning, he states, must take place in schools.

Unfortunately, Etzioni writes, schools have themselves become hollow institutions, filled with teachers and students who lack the psychic energy to commit themselves to tasks that go beyond the moment of immediate gratification. Etzioni recognizes, perhaps unconsciously,

that schools are institutions where students learn far more than what the curriculum announces, and that this socalled hidden or implicit curriculum has served the nation poorly in recent decades. The schools must be rebuilt before the society can be revitalized.

Research on school effectiveness clearly supports the contentions of social critics like Etzioni and Harris, and strongly seconds the assessments of corporate weakness offered by Schumacher Ouchi and others. It is the unequivocal consensus of educational researchers that schools where students manage to do well academically are also places where the atmosphere, the ethos, contributes to the existence of a sense of community.

Rutter documented the similarity between English and American schools and the importance of group involvement to success. In his well-known study of a dozen inner-city London junior high schools, Rutter identified a number of group involvement factors that effected school achievement, delinquency, truancy and other indicators of school success or failure. One of the most important factors was the extent to which the school faculty attempted to make the school conditions pleasant for the students, through such things as school outings, decorations, and so forth. The opportunity for the maximum number of students to assume responsibilities and to get involved in the life of the school was significant Having the same group of friends from year to year stood out as very important, as well as the opportunity for the staff to be engaged in joint planning for teaching.

Rutter concluded, after four years of study, that the crucial differences in the schools boiled down to whether or not the school effectively attended to the social side of learning. It is critically important, says Rutter, that teachers and students come to see themselves as part of the same school group, the same team. This unity permits faculty and students to work together for common purposes in and outside the classroom. Unity is what makes it more likely that students will share the educational perspective of the faculty, and what, therefore, leads ultimately to higher academic achievement.

In a recent study of well-disciplined schools, the Phi Delta Kappa Commission recommended a number of group involvement factors as important goals for schools seeking to improve student behavior. These factors clearly support the conclusions which Rutter reached in England. For example (PDK, 1982):

1. Schools should find ways to improve how people in the school work together to solve problems.
2. Schools should develop the means to reduce authority and status differences among all persons in the school.
3. Schools should increase and widen the students' sense of belonging in the school.
4. The school should find a way to deal with the personal problems that affect life within the school. Programs called "advisor-advisee" were advocated.

5. Schools were advised to improve the physical and organizational arrangements so that these factors would reinforce other efforts.

One of the fundamental items on every list of school effectiveness, a safe and orderly climate, is clearly linked to the existence of group involvement. Phi Delta Kappa's Commission on Good Discipline stressed the centrality of community to good discipline. Well-disciplined schools were found to be those that were firmly student-oriented, where the faculty and staff believed that the "best way to create good morale, to encourate active participation, and to build self-respect is to promote the feeling of being on a winning team" (PDK, 1982, p. 14).

Purkey and Smith (1983) identify this sense of community as one of the more important process variables in school effectiveness. They summarize it well:

> There is persuasive evidence that community feeling, the sense of being a recognizeable member of a community that is supportive and clearly perceived (by the staff and others), contributes to reduced alienation and increased achievement. There is also evidence that schools can create or build community by the appropriate use of ceremony, symbols, rules (i.e., dress code), and the like. (p. 445)

The Culture of the School

Unfortunately, the literature on school effectiveness is most ineffective when it comes to describing the nature of the school as a social institution, or in identifying specific ways in which a sense of community can be designed. As Etzioni argues, thinking of the school as a place devoted solely to the acquisition of academic learning is a severely limiting conception. Schools are at least as important to the society in the role they play as agents of the socialization of youth as they are in their academic role. Students learn as much from how they are organized for learning and the processes in which they participate as they do from the formal curriculum they confront. Marshall McLuan was right—the process is the product. The Theory Z School recognizes and capitalizes on the opportunity to use the organization of the school to accomplish the goals of both academic learning and socialization.

In an excellent recent review of the research on the social side of schooling, Hamilton (1983) concluded that school organization contributed significantly to both academic learning and socialization, a contribution that is equal in some ways to factors like student home background or the activities of teachers in classrooms. The size of the school, the social system created there, the style of peer social interactions and other factors emerge as important considerations. School leaders who ignore the impact of the social organization of schools sacrifice academic learning opportunities and may reinforce social values that run counter to the needs of contemporary American culture.

Organizing the School for Learning and Socialization: The Middle School Example

Schumacher (1973) urged industrialists to design their enterprises so that they created "smallness within bigness", and the Theory Z approach to education offers the same advice to educational managers. A return to the cottage industry is not likely to be the solution to our nation's economic woes, and a return to the one-room schoolhouse is an unlikely candidate for a solution to our educational problems. The economy of scale has value, albeit limited, in both corporate and school experience; cost effectiveness is a factor in both situations, at least for the near future. Educators, like corporate managers, must find ways to organize relatively large institutions so that authentic person-centered communities exist within them. Fortunately, there are some indications of how this might proceed, and the middle school is one of the more important.

In the last two decades, what has come to be called the middle school movement has evolved into one of the fastest growing and most firmly-fixed innovations in American educational history. It could be argued that the middle school movement is one of the few large scale, nationwide, humanistic, educator-sponsored school innovations to survive the last quarter century of social and educational turmoil. Only the school consolidation movement competes with it in terms of the numbers of school districts and states involved and the millions of hours and dollars devoted to a single reorganization effort. In most districts, middle schools were organized as an expediency, designed in response to the pressures for racial desegregation or declining enrollments; middle schools have remained in place because the middle school is one of the few innovations that has begun to deliver more than it promised. I am persuaded that the popularity and durability of the middle school movement is in large part due to the ways in which it organizes teachers and students, permitting the development of the all-important vital subgroups and authentic communities that teachers and learners need.

The need for group membership is not, of course, unique to early adolescents. All Americans identify themselves, in answer to the question "Who am I?", by reference to the groups to which they belong. We all list the church group, the community organization, the work group, the support group, the club, or the team with which we identify. Many of us have needs for group memberships that reach beyond these common groups.

I, for example, recently paid twenty dollars for a tie that features large orange alligators on it! My family and I have allocated almost three hundred dollars for season tickets to the University of Florida's football games this year. Why, you might ask, would reasonably mature adults do such a thing, especially considering the past and probably future records of our football squad? My wife, now a fervent Gator fan after never having seen a football game before the 1982 season,

has an answer: "It feels really great to be in the same place with 70,000 other people who are really glad to be there, who are having a great time, and who feel a part of the same group effort!"

My family is not unique. There are grown men and women, financially successful beyond all my imagination, who pay a minimum of $10,000 per ticket per year for the privilege of belonging to the "Bull Gator Club," which entitles them to special parking, orange sportcoats, and the privilege of being on a first name basis with the football coach and the university president. Again, a reasonable person might ask why an emminently successful businessman might feel the need to do such a thing. Most Americans know the answer: we all need to belong to groups, and this need manifests itself in dozens of peculiar ways.

Few readers of this manuscript, for example, would be able to document a life lived without the stability and identity of group membership. Some of you will have to admit to paying good money this year to be called an Elk, a Moose, a Lion, or some similar animal name. Others will admit to having been involved for years in groups that had names made up from the letters of the Greek alphabet, and who proudly wore these insignia on jackets, blouses, and pins. Others eat breakfast or lunch together once a week, looking forward to the somewhat silly songs that are sung with such gusto each time, calling themselves Rotarians, Kiwanians, or other group names. In the area of religion, many Americans derive much of the purposes for their lives from belonging to what they separately consider to be the right groups, the ones with the Truth.

If adults have such strong needs for group membership, it should not be surprising that younger students have similar needs. What should be surprising is that so little attention has been paid to student group membership needs; and that educators have failed, for so long, to recognize the connection between meeting those needs and the achievement of more fully-functioning and productive schools.

Ironically, the middle school accomplishes these goals by being a very highly structured institution. Rather than the muddle that some so-called middle schools became, the fabric of today's exemplary middle schools is far more tightly knit than is generally supposed. In contrast, the loose structure of the high school and the typical junior high school generally demands far more responsibility, maturity, and self-discipline than most early adolescents are capable of mustering. Modelled after the American university system, these secondary schools may have been structured tightly enough a long time ago; when the American society itself was tightly structured, the schools did not have to be. Productive middle schools recognize that today's students need positive support and structure, with modest and manageable levels of freedom and responsibility.

The most productive and satisfying middle level school experiences, for the greatest number of students, occur in schools that build in levels

of structure that create communities small enough for almost all students and staff to feel a sense of real membership. Large schools are organized into houses, houses are organized into teams, and teams are made up of a small number of advisory groups; and, in the very best of such schools, these groups remain together for more than nine months.

Interdisciplinary Team Organization

One of the most important developments in the capacity of the middle school to organize in a way that meets, simultaneously, the needs for learning and socialization was the painful but profitable realization that team teaching and interdisciplinary team organization are not synonymous. For decades, stretching back to the beginning of the junior high school at the turn of the century, middle level educators had admirably attempted to institute a variety of team teaching programs. These attempts were made in the belief (probably correct) that the students could learn in far more meaningful ways when the subjects in the curriculum were presented to them in thematically interwoven units. Teachers were trained and encouraged to plan collaboratively, time and money were devoted to the creation of units, parents were advised of the new learning experiences their children would be enjoying, and the students eagerly anticipated an excitingly different educational program.

The programs came and went so fast that it made peoples' heads spin. Today, in hundreds of school districts, team teaching and interdisciplinary curriculum are in the "Oh, that!" category of educational innovations. Everyone in those schools thinks that it is a wonderful idea and that someone else in another school should definitely try it again.

Educators have learned that the interdisciplinary team organization is far more than a way to encourage team teaching. It is a method of bringing teachers and students together to establish authentic learning communities, not just an administrative technique to get something else accomplished. When teachers and students are grouped together into interdisciplinary teams it creates an educational glue that holds together almost every other aspect of the school program.

The interdisciplinary team organization is based on sharing (Alexander and George, 1981). Teachers and students share, first of all, each other. The teachers on the team all teach the same students, and the students on the team have the same teachers in the basic academic program. Teachers and students also share, to the degree possible, the same basic physical area of the school and the same schedule. Without this organized sharing, there is no team, and without the team, the opportunity for a sense of community is lost.

An interdisciplinary team is, then, a group of teachers, usually from two to five persons representing the basic academic subjects, who share the same students, the same space, and the same schedule. On some

teams teachers may share the responsibility for teaching the basic subjects to the students, in some form of team teaching, but frequently this is not the case. More often, teachers on teams share an interest in the total academic program in which their common students are involved.

The most absolutely essential thing is that teachers share the same students and have the opportunity to work together with the needs of those common students in mind. Being right next door, across the hall, or in the same pod is almost as essential. Teachers who do not share the same students have little reason to work closely together, and when teachers are in separate areas of the school building they have less opportunity to collaborate. Community means commonality—being together in the same place, at the same time, with similar needs. It is difficult to conceive of any kind of community, educational or otherwise, that fails to fit this definition.

Educators with team experiences have identified four different areas of team life, four different ways in which teachers and students work together to accomplish the tasks of schooling more effectively and satisfactorily than would be possible in self-contained classrooms or in university-style departments (George, 1982). Properly organized, teachers can act to influence their students' behavior, the academic program, the sense of group involvement which students experience, and teachers can help to shape the programs and policies of the school as a whole. In fact, the team organization adds considerably more power to the opportunities teachers have to enhance all areas of the Type Z school: philosophy, curriculum, instruction, group involvement, and leadership. Team organization is an essential component of the Theory Z School.

It is in the area of group involvement, however, that teams have the most unrealized potential, creating direct benefits for teachers as well as for parents, students and administrators. Teachers on teams find themselves involved in a professional community of shared concerns, rather than being isolated in self-contained classrooms or assigned to departments where their common concerns may be limited to the scope and sequence of a single subject area. Teamed teachers find that they come to know each other, their students, and the schoolwide program far more deeply than they otherwise might. Discipline improves, parent support strengthens, program planning becomes more balanced and comprehensive; the entire school experience for teachers becomes more unified and connected. As teaching becomes an increasingly difficult task, the power that comes from mutual support and shared strengths is becoming far more essential than it ever was.

Benefits for teachers lead directly to benefits for students; on teams, life in school for students improves in many ways. There is little doubt that the interdisciplinary team organization provides a smooth and

supportive transition for students moving from the largely self-contained atmosphere of the elementary school to the more loosely-organized but highly departmentalized situation of the average high school. The team provides its students with a sense of place and group, and whether one works for Toyota or works on long division, feeling like an important member of an important group is essential to productivity.

Advisory Groups. In many middle and junior high schools, life on teams and the sense of community that results is enhanced by the presence of what are most frequently refered to as advisor-advisee groups. Again unfortunately, for many years these advisory programs suffered from the same misunderstandings that caused difficulty with the team organization. As the concept originally emerged with the junior high school over a half century ago, such groups were to serve as a home room for the students who were leaving the self-contained classroom behind for the first time in their school lives. The idea had merit, then and now; but these home rooms, in the context of the rigidly departmentalized junior high school, quickly became little more than a place to store books and coats, to hear announcements and to have attendance taken. In the absence of the interdisciplinary team organization also originally intended for junior high school students, the purpose of the home room and the way it could work soon became obscured.

With the emergence of the middle school movement, some twenty years ago, the idea of the home room reappeared. Recognizing the continuing needs for support and identity possessed by early adolescents, and attempting to avoid the failure of the earlier home room, educators redesigned the concept and it emerged as a program focused on the provision of guidance to students by academic teachers. The advisor-advisee program, by whatever name it is known, became an important part of the middle school idea.

Presently, however, such programs often fail to fulfill the potential they possess. Today's advisory programs are frequently designed to provide guidance to students from teachers who have had little or no training in the skills required. The programs are sometimes portrayed to parents and the community in a manner that arouses suspicion and concern about the moral or spiritual values and beliefs that might be involved. Too often, in districts that are uncertain of or uneducated about the middle school program, advisory programs are introduced in schools where teachers are still organized into departments. Almost always, such efforts fail.

Properly understood as an important building block for group membership, advisory programs can be extremely successful. When administrators and teachers approach the program in a way that permits the advisory group to be a part of an interdisciplinary team, it is almost always a more effective experience for everyone involved. Named

students as they know them. The school principal likes it because it reduces school building discipline problems to an absolute minimum. Students like it because they form friendships with peers that continue easily for three years in a place that is small enough and permanent enough for them to care about. There appear to be almost no serious disadvantages to this approach.

Many other middle schools have adopted a grouping practice known as Multiage Grouping. In this plan, teachers and students stay together on teams that change by, say, one-third each year. At Noe Middle School, in Louisville Kentucky, teams consist of equal numbers of sixth, seventh, and eighth grade students; on one team, then, there would be fifty students from each grade. Teachers and students work together for three years, with the composition of the group changing by one-third each year. In the spring, the eighth graders leave for the high school, and in the autumn a new group of sixth graders joins each team. This plan allows relationships, once formed, to last as long as the student is in the school.

What evidence exists indicates that this approach has a number of important advantages over conventional grouping plans. School and clasroom discipline is dramatically improved. Diagnosis and prescription for learning is sharply enhanced, and individual students experience continuous progress in a very real way. Teacher-parent relationships almost always grow more positive as time passes, with each learning that the other cares about the student. Instruction becomes more innovative; the curriculum is adjusted to more accurate assessment of student achievement. The teachers' sense of efficacy grows as he or she is able to see measurable success in student learning from year to year, progress for which the teacher can feel responsible. Teacher-student relationships that began in a positive way grow more and more positive as time goes on. Relationships that began less positively almost always improve as teacher and student struggle with the need to work well together. Group involvement becomes incredibly intense, with loyalty and responsibility deepening with each year together (Doda, 1982).

Practitioners report that there are some disadvantages for teachers connected with multiage grouping. Teachers must be familiar with a range of curriculum that transcends the boundaries of a single year. They must work harder to accommodate the needs of a wider range of student achievement and maturity. They are unable to avoid becoming more deeply involved in the decisions that affect students' personal and school lives. They are many educators, however, who would argue that these are among the more desirable disadvantages that exist in today's schools.

The experience of the staff at Lincoln Middle School, in Gainesville, Florida, is instructive in this regard. For almost a decade, Lincoln was

nization and the advisory group, exemplified in successful middle schools, seems clear. What is even more encouraging is that an increasing number of educators, again at the middle school level, are discovering that great benefits accrue to schools that manage to organize in a way that permits group involvement, once established, to last for more than one year.

There are now numerous examples of schools organized in ways that permit the same groups of teachers and students to stay together for two, three or even four years. Known by various names, these procedures extend the life of teams and advisory groups beyond the nine months that are usually permitted by the standard age-grade level chronological grouping plan. Educators with experience in these alternatives are almost unanimous in their praise for such options (Doda, 1982).

Alternatives to chronological age grouping can be described as existing on a continuum, from those arrangements that depart modestly from the usual, to those which alter dramatically the years teachers and students can spend together. Three methods of extending these relationships can now be found in middle schools around the country.

The School-Within-A-School program probably departs least radically from what most educators have experienced, and more and more middle schools appear to be adopting or considering this plan. In this plan, teams of teachers and students are arranged in groups by grade level in relatively separate areas of the school so that each area creates a microcosm of the total school.

At Wakulla County Middle School, in rural north Florida, for example, three areas of the school are organized into what are called houses. Each house contains one sixth grade team, one seventh and one eighth grade team. Students and teachers spend only one year in the same arrangement; each year the teachers have new students and the students move on to another team of teachers. But students spend all three years in the same area of the building, the same house. They see the teachers they had last year on a regular basis, and they get to know the teachers they will have next year before that time arrives. Labeled East House, North House and West House, these areas serve as the home for the students for a period of three years, giving them a permanent place that they can use as "their turf" for the entire time they are in the middle school.

This approach pleases everyone at Wakulla Middle School. Parents like it because it is only slightly different from what they may have experienced, and because it makes interacting with the school a much simpler process. Teachers like it because, although they have only one grade level of instruction to plan, they interact with the entire program for students over a period of three years. Teachers also enjoy following the progress of their students for that length of time, and assisting their colleagues in tailoring the school experience to the needs of the

"Prime Time" in the middle schools of Sarasota County, Florida, advisory groups can serve the student and the school in many ways; such group time can be the best part of the school day.

In order for this to happen, such groups must be a part of an interdisciplinary team organization (Alexander and George, 1981). Team decisions and activities have their origin in the advisory groups. Essential school operations, from intramurals and field trips to report card distribution are an operation of the advisory groups connected to a team. For many students, even a team of 150 members will be too large for an authentic feeling of belonging, and the smaller, more personal advisory group will provide the structure and support that permits students to grow toward being effective members of the team.

While providing guidance to students is an important function, the central purpose of many of the activities in which such groups engage becomes the creation of a growing commitment to the group (George and Lawrence, 1982). Having a special name, eating together, competing for school awards and recognition together, and dozens of other similar activities help students begin to identify with a positive school group. Students learn that such groups deserve their loyalty, and from this concepts like duty and responsibility begin to take on new meaning.

I believe that students who can learn to see themselves as important members of an advisory group will eventually be able to transfer that loyalty to the larger team or house. I hope, also, that this will enable them to move to the high school with a more mature understanding of the needs of larger institutions. In this way, students may come to act on the concepts of mutuality and civility identified by Etzioni as so crucial to the future of our society. The advisory group at its best is, in actuality, civic education in process.

Alternatives to Chronological Grouping. On one of the type of posters that are frequently seen adorning the walls of school counselors' offices, I recently saw the words "True friendship is a plant of slow growth." Although most counselors would not be likely to associate those sentiments with research on productivity, there is a quite strong relationship. In corporate life and in school, there is an accumulating amount of evidence that strength and stability in interpersonal relationships is an important component of productivity. It seems reasonable, then, that if corporate productivity, Theory Z style, rests on permitting people who care about one another to spend long periods of time working together, schools can improve their own productivity by lengthening the period of time during which strong positive relationships remain intact.

The argument made in this section is that schools, to be truly effective, must be organized into smaller units so that authentic group involvement may grow. The case for the interdisciplinary team orga-

organized according to multiage grouping; with each of six teams in the school composed of equal numbers of sixth, seventh, and eighth graders. In its tenth year, Lincoln was forced to abandon this plan and revert to chronological age grouping, as a consequence of some school board decisions that were aimed at improving other aspects of the program in that district. Without being critical of the program at Lincoln, the board decided that students in all of the middle schools of the district should use the same textbook in the same grade, making multiage grouping at Lincoln impossible, but improving the continuity of the district program from school to school.

After a year of chronological age grouping that made it impossible to maintain effective relationships with students for more than nine months, the faculty members of the school felt so strongly about what they had lost that they have decided to adopt an even more ambitious plan. In the autumn of 1983, the Lincoln staff has decided to institute a method of organizing students described as "STP", Student-Teacher Progression (Alexander and George, 1981). Accordingly, the teachers who have the responsibility for teaching the eighth grade students will become sixth grade teachers next year. These teachers will stay with the same exact group of students for three whole years, moving with them to the seventh and then to the eighth grades. Other teachers on teams at other grade levels will do the same sort of rotation.

The advantages of this approach should be obvious. The sense of community that will result from three years together will be deeper and more meaningful than any other set of circumstances might permit, for everyone involved in the lives of the students. A vital three year program of continuous progress will be almost inevitable. Teachers will still be able to focus on a single grade level of curriculum needs, although their knowledge of their students will entice them to do more. A host of other advantages will emerge.

A few disadvantages seem equally challenging. Teachers will need assistance in curriculum development in a time and place where such assistance places demands on an already thin budget. Teachers, both the most and the least effective, will be unable to use the exciting things they develop one year until two additional years have passed. Conversely, however, teachers who are bored with having to teach the same thing year after year will be freed to experience a variety of teaching tasks.

Many schools are beginning to experience success in establishing subgroups that facilitate group involvement. Team organizations, advisory groups and methods for extending teacher-student relationships have begun to demonstrate their effectiveness in what has traditionally been the least productive phase of American education—middle and junior high schools. The details of the operation of these programs are available elsewhere (Alexander and George, 1981). It is important, however, to assert that this need for group involvement is not unique

to learners at the middle level. Elementary and high schools seeking to improve their effectiveness will find these techniques adapt well to other levels.

Activities to Enhance Group Involvement. Schools that manage to reorganize the way in which teachers and students receive instruction, in elementary, middle or high schools, so that there are "vital sugroups" with which teachers and students identify, will find group involvement growing simply as the result of the reorganization. But the sense of community that is related to long term gains in productivity must be nurtured.

In America's most productive corporations, reorganization creating smallness within bigness is accompanied by activities designed specifically to reinforce the natural sense of community that results. Schools must do the same thing. For teachers who entered the profession without the awareness that such efforts are necessary, some consciousness-raising may be required.

The kinds of activities that build teamwork in corporations are very similar to those that work in schools. People get to know and care about each other the same way, whether they are in schools or companies: they spend time together, get to know each other, are successful in achieving common goals, and they have fun together. The reorganization of people and places will permit them to spend time together, but the goal of community, of feeling like members of a winning team, cannot be accomplished without devoting time and energy to activities that help people know and care about each other. A company picnic once a year won't achieve that goal for a company any more than an annual awards assembly will unite a whole school.

Some of the more effective techniques for achieving group unity in schools may seem awfully corny, but they work. Athletic coaches and army commanders have known and acted upon that knowledge for a century, with visible success. Wynne (1981) identified just a few that work well for schools:

1. Maintaining effective physical boundaries; creating a sense of physical community by insisting on a closed campus enhances the feeling of co-citizen among those of the campus.
2. Maintaining effective symbolic boundaries, by distinguishing those on campus through dress codes for both faculty and students. Even the promotion of school jewelry and clothing such as t-shirts and jackets adds to the symbolic distinctness of the group.
3. The use of mottos, school symbols, colors and other devices that serve as a focus for identification.
4. Attention to ceremonies such as assemblies, parades, pep rallies (academic and athletic).

5. Attention to school athletic events and to school achievements of all kinds as opportunities for pride in the group.
6. Opportunities for teachers and students to have fun together: school picnics, teacher-student athletic events and field days, days for wearing silly costumes, well-planned dances and other social events where teachers and students could be together in other than stereotypical ways.
7. Encouraging the use of the school newspaper to enhance the quality of school life and increase school pride, rather than as a source of criticism and griping.
8. School-sponsored community projects that permit teachers and students to work together in a common cause.

Wynne concluded that in less effective schools, the administration and faculty spend a great deal of time and energy bemoaning the lack if school spirit, and do little or nothing to change it. In more productive schools, the staff obviously believes that school spirit is something that could change, and they set about to improve it.

One concrete illustration of success in this area may be helpful. At Westridge Junior High School, in Orlando, Florida, the faculty have found ways to change the spirit in the school. Located in a part of the city that is infamous for the massage parlors, nude dancers, and prostitutes that line the streets, the school was often referred to as "Worstridge." School spirit and participation was limited to the ten percent of the students who starred in everything. Academic achievement was terribly low.

Beginning with a change from departments to an interdisciplinary team organization in the seventh and eighth grades, teachers and students found themselves sharing the essential elements for a sense of community. That was just the beginning; the teachers and students on the teams did the rest. One team leader described part of the process (Steele, 1983):

> Two years ago an interdisciplinary team of four basic skills teachers got together and decided on an *Octopus* for our team logo. Everyone knows eighth graders seem to have eight arms and we wanted something with eight legs for the eighth grade. Next, we decided on the name, *Eighth Wonders*, and selected an attribute beginning with each letter of the team name:

E	Excellent	W	Wonderful
I	Intelligent	O	Optimistic
G	Gallant	N	Nice
H	Helpful	D	Dependable
T	Thoughtful	E	Energetic
H	Happy	R	Respectful
		S	Sincere

Bulletin boards with an Octopus were adapted to every occasion. For instance, the students put up *Octopumpkin* at Halloween and

Octoclaus at Christmas. Students made posters with the octopus logo and used the name *Octopod* for the eight classrooms in our eighth grade hallway.

Creative thinking by the students is stimulated by the use of logos. A Name-the-Octopus Contest is held annually to name our mascot. The first year the winner was "Ocho"...Last year the winning name was "Seamore". The winners received an Octopus with legs made of 8 rolled dollar bills.

Team teachers had shirts made with the school colors and the team logo. Eighth Wonders...were now more special at pep rallies for the Westridge Warriors.

This team, and others at Westridge J.H.S., used every opportunity to build team identity. Teachers met with students for total team meetings to discuss team goals, expectations and concerns. They used team assemblies for speakers, demonstrations, entertainment and awards. Teachers found ways to involve students in assuming ownership for team rules and responsibilities. A first run movie at the end of the term rewarded all students who had observed team rules successfully; just one of the many similar spirit-building activities. The school honor roll was divided into teams, and teams developed contests in areas like athletics, art, music, writing and computation to spread the recognition around. Team songs developed and team banners appeared.

The efforts at team identity at Westridge then expanded naturally into academic achievement areas, where such efforts were badly needed. Prior to the beginning of this project, students at Westridge had been scoring near the bottom of the 19 junior high schools in the district. After three years of identity-building, and some crucial efforts at helping students take standardized testing more seriously, the students at Westridge rose to first in the district on the state assessment of basic skills! "Now the students feel like they're going to 'Bestridge'," teachers say.

Summary

Human beings require meaningful group involvement, and corporations and schools that ignore this need will find themselves to be far less productive than they might be. Truly effective schools organize, physically and symbolically, in ways that promote a deep and continuing sense of community. Team spirit, it turns out, is as important to raising test scores as it is to winning ball games and selling cars. Large schools, following the guidelines of Theory Z, reorganize themselves so that there is smallness within the bigness. Advisory groups, interdisciplinary teams, and alternatives to chronological age grouping that permit relationships and group involvement to continue are demonstratably superior to other approaches for organizing teachers and students for learning. When faculties act vigorously to intensify the students' feeling of belonging, good things happen for everyone.

Spirited Leadership

Introduction

During the summer of 1983, Peters and Waterman's *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies* (1982), was the number one best-selling nonfiction book in the nation. Having spent long months in the study of what makes a corporation great, these authors confessed that they had begun their research with a bias against leadership. At the beginning of their study they preferred to believe that successful companies got that way by virtue of a unique set of characteristics that set them apart, but by the time they had completed their work they were forced to conclude:

> Unfortunately, what we found was that associated with almost every excellent company was a strong leader (or two) who seemed to have a lot to do with making the company excellent in the first place. Many of these companies — for instance, IBM, P&G, Emerson, J&J, and Dana — seem to have taken on their basic character under the tutelage of a very special person. (p. 26)

But these authors further observe that:

> The excellent companies seem to have developed cultures that have incorporated the values and practices of the great leaders and thus those shared values can be seen to survive for decades after the passing of the original guru. . . . it appears that the real role of the chief executive is to manage the values of the organization. (p. 26)

The most successful managers of the most successful of America's corporations are men and women who can best be described as spirited leaders. They are people who love the business they are in and the people with whom they work. They love the product, and they are intimately familiar with all the steps that go into developing it. Most importantly, these leaders are able to imbue others with the excitement, the love of the product, the concern for others and for the core values of the company. They are people who "make meanings for people, as well as money." They believe deeply in the social value of what they do, and they are able to inspire others to do the same.

The research on school effectiveness also points to the school principal as the person most individually responsible for the ability of a school to succeed or fail in meeting its goals. Dozens of studies support the significance of the principal, as instructional leader, in helping schools to raise the academic achievement of the pupils. But since academic achievement is only one of the goals of a school, albeit the most important one, the role of the principal in a fully-functioning school program is likely to be much more demanding and considerably more complex than what one usually things of when reading the phrase "instructional leader."

Spirited leadership, as one of the central components of the Type Z school, involves three related but separate and distinct roles, all of which begin with a realistic appraisal of the difficult and challenging situation which is the modern school principalship. Leaders in Type Z schools recognize and accept the reality of the many barriers which make contemporary schools difficult to manage effectively: federal programs with all their complexities; state laws having to do with tenure, certification, and so on; union and association contracts; school district policy; the economic conditions of the community; the idiosyncracies of grade levels and the limitations of particular physical plants; the diverse demands of every single day; and, what one article (Morris, Crowson, Hurwitz, Porter-Gehrie, 1982) calls the "shifting chessboard" of American education which demands that principals continue to play, even as the rules of the game are being rewritten beneath them. Principals in Theory Z schools may gasp, but they do not give up.

Spirited leadership finds its fulfillment in three different areas of the school principalship. Such school principals do act, importantly, as instructional leaders. They also act as group facilitators, in the broadest sense of that term. Most importantly, perhaps, they are makers of meaning.

The Leader As Meaning Maker

The single most important aspect of spirited leadership may be the combination of a sense of mission and a fierce tenacity. Leaders who can maintain a school that has already achieved a Type Z status, or who can move a school closer to such a status, are people who took the job in the first place because they have a sense of mission, a need to make an important and positive difference in the world. They see the school as an appropriate and deserving context for their efforts. They did not seek the job primarily for the salary, the status, the power, the friends or the upward mobility that it might promise. People who make a difference in schools, in this positive way, are people who want to count, want their lives to mean something and want to be certain of it. Faced with the barriers that the role of school principal carries with it, instead of accepting the conventional (and comfortable) wisdom that there is little they can do, such people proceed to do whatever they can.

Peters and Waterman (1982) refer to James MacGregor Burns and his concept of "transforming leadership" when he describes the ability of the spirited leader to:

> . . . engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality. Their purposes, which might have started out separate but related . . . become fused. (Such leadership) raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both the leader and the led, and thus has a transforming effect on both . . . Transforming leadership is dynamic leadership in the sense that the leaders throw

themselves into a relationship with followers who will feel "elevated" by it and often become more active themselves, thereby creating new cadres of leaders. (p. 83)

In education, this means managing the values of an institution so that the members of the group come to accept and act on beliefs about the goals of the school and the abilities of the students that defy the accumulating judgments of the last several decades, during which educators were led to believe that schools and teachers did not make a difference. As Rutter (1979) writes, school leaders must believe, and help others to believe, that while schooling cannot completely compensate for the inequities of society, and that even though schooling may not be the most influential factor in the lives of students, schooling is, indeed, one of the major areas of influence; and it is the one area that teachers and administrators can do something about.

Superior, Type Z, school leaders are able imbue their faculties and students with the belief that the school has an important mission and that the members of the enterprise have the strengths and abilities to accomplish those goals. Much more than naive simple-minded optimism, this mission is based on a vision of the possible. It combines high expectations for students with a firm belief in the ability of teachers to be successful with those students.

Spirited school leaders have a mission that is made concrete by the existence of long term goals, coupled with the presence of more short-term objectives, both of which focus clearly on achievement, as a necessary beginning point (Leithwood, 1982). This not only permits the principal to avoid being consumed by activities that are not central to the goals of the school, it enables the leader to escape the traps of what has come to be called administrivia. It requires a task orientation instead of a primarily human relations orientation, but an attentionn to task that includes interpersonal skills. This modeling exerts a powerful effect on teachers who then find themselves putting in longer hours, attending student activities after hours in the school and being more personally committed, in general, to the goals of the school (Persell, 1982).

Brookover and Lezotte (1979) have helped educators understand how the actions of the school principal influence the expectations and consequent behavior of teachers and students. School leaders who hold high expectations for their students, and believe in the abilities of their teachers, are much less likely to act in ways that depress teachers' own expectations. The principal in a higher achieving school is much less likely to let up on teachers, who are, therefore, much less likely to give up on their students. What a teacher does, influences the learning of the students, and what a principal does, influences the behavior of the teachers. Clearly, then, what goes on in the mind of the principal has a direct effect on school achievement.

Gale Muller, Vice President of Selection Research, Incorporated, of

Lincoln, Nebraska, is so convinced by the research linking the mind of the school leader to the outcomes of the school that this company has developed a sophisticated interview process to help employers determine how potential school principals perceive the world and the school. According to this process, and the research on which it is based, effective leaders possess certain key perceptions:

1. The person wishes to make an impact on the world through children, lots of children. They have a mission to accomplish.
2. They see the task of the school principal as one deeply involved in being a teacher of teachers. They receive satisfaction from assisting in and observing the personal and professional growth of faculty members.
3. The most effective administrators have a value system that focuses on the worth and dignity of human beings...especially students. They hold firmly to the conviction that the most important thing that happens in schools is what happens between teachers and students. They willingly take stands for kids. (Muller, 1983)

Instructional Leadership: The Principal Teacher

A century ago, one became the "principal teacher" in a school, a term that meant that the person was the most important teacher in the building, having more authority and responsibility than other teachers, but a master teacher first and foremost. The research on academic achievement, supported by the research on corporate management, suggests that the effective school leader needs to be someone who both cares about and understands the life of the classroom.

A convincing number of studies and reviews of research arrive at the conclusion that the role of the principal as instructional leader is central to the high-achieving school. In a recent review of research on the elementary school principal, Leithwood and Montgomery (1982), concluded:

> The typical principal is quite distant from curriculum or instructional decisions and initiates few changes in the school's program. Emphasis is placed on the existing professional competence of teachers and the value of "leaving teachers alone to teach." Usually the principal does not engage the staff in goal or priority setting for students; in contrast to the effective principal, there is a lack of achievement orientation. (p. 322)

The effective principal cares enough about the school's program and the students that he or she pays very careful attention to hiring new staff members (Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982). The principal knows that new staff can either strengthen or weaken the commitment to the goals of the school. New teachers, committed to the goals already in place at the school, help to further concentrate that thrust; those

who arrive without a similar commitment can serve to dilute the force that is present.

Knowing that hiring is at best an imperfect process, the effective school principal takes pains to provide the necessary orientation and staff development which new staff members require. In the Type Z school, new staff members are quickly acquainted with the components of the programs that carry the school toward its goals. Unusual programs, such as advisor-advisee groups in the middle school, are the focus of a great deal more orientation and staff development efforts toward new teachers (Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982).

Spirited leaders are, in fact, visibly involved in the staff development process, for themselves and all their teachers. Such principals often plan, conduct or attend specific staff development activities that focus on goals of the school. These administrators foster the idea that teaching is a profession requiring continuous skill development, and they are particularly careful about introducting innovations that relate to the mission of the school program. Most importantly, these principals are involved, personally, in staff development opportunities; inservice education is not something where the principals' role is limited to introducing the consultant that the central office has hired to provide a workshop required for teacher certification. Effective principals do not retreat to their offices to "finish some paperwork" while the teachers engage in staff development.

It is clearly not enough, however, to simply exhort teachers to increase the achievement of their students; specific staff development activities are required. Kramer (1980) identifies appropriate areas where a school principal designs effective inservice education:

1. Opportunities for the staff to become involved in prioritizing the goals of the school.
2. Time for the faculty to discuss whether the priorities they have identified are properly expressed in the allocation of time and resources in the school.
3. Sessions which enable the staff to identify obstacles to the goals they have assigned high priority.
4. Workshops aimed at classroom practices that permit teachers to increase the amount and quality of time spent on objectives that fit the goals of the school.
5. Sessions that familiarize the faculty with research on the effects of family background and social class on student achievement.
6. Assistance in using different language in referring to culturally different children and their parents.
7. Examination of exemplary programs and model practices that have resulted in exceptional progress in areas congruent with the goals of the school.
8. The proper role for assessment and effective measurement techniques.

The spirited leadership of effective school principals is modeled for the staff, also, in the way in which they use their time. Since time on task has come to be recognized as a crucially important variable in student achievement, it appears that how school principals handle time may have some relationship to how teachers and students value and organize their own time in the classroom. In high-achieving schools, principals are perceived as spending a great deal of time in the schools. Not just in the school buildings, the most effective instructional leaders spend very little time in their offices; they are visible in hallways and classrooms. Safe and orderly schools have principals who spend their time "cultivating good learning conditions by managing the physical ambience of the school community (Morris, 1982)." Such principals are constantly roaming the school building, resolving problems with troublesome or disruptive students, reminding everyone of their duties and responsibilities as teachers and learners, and by their continued presence, communicating to all just how important the principal believes the learning process to be.

Effective principals also spend time in classrooms, observing teachers, conferencing with them and providing feedback and practical assistance in problem situations relating to the goals of the schools. They pay close attention to the instructional strategies that teachers employ, and are able to suggest modifications that teachers perceive to be helpful in improving learning. These principals employ what is commonly called a clinical supervision model, stressing confidence in the teacher's ability to succeed (Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982).

Spirited leaders recognize outstanding performance in the classroom when they see it. They know good teaching, and they publicly and unambiguously praise and reward it. Using techniques like minigrants, school board recognition, and compensatory time, effective instructional leaders motivate teachers to do their best. They also encourage innovation in the classroom, and reward rather than punish teachers who take appropriate risks to try techniques that may improve the performance of their children. (Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982).

Instructional leadership also means caring about and constantly monitoring the performance of students on an individual, classroom and schoolwide basis. In high achieving schools, it is the principals who analyze test results and work with teachers to adjust the programs to perceived strengths and weaknesses.

Instructional leaders simply, perhaps miraculously, find time to care about what happens in classrooms, refusing to abandon the life of the school to the demands of the central office or the admittedly pressing concerns of the budget, the schedule, or the federal bureaucracy. If it sounds like a task requiring almost superhuman effort, it is.

Group Facilitator

In Type Z schools, the role of a spirited leader goes beyond the establishment of goals and the leadership of instruction. Conceiving of the school as more than a collection of individual classrooms joined together by a common parking lot requires that leaders be able to work with groups of all kinds. It demands that leaders be able to organize the schools in a way that creates the vital subgroups so necessary to group involvement and school spirit, and it rests on the principals' ability to harness the energy and commitment of those groups so that teachers and students work together toward achieving the goals of the school. Spirited leaders spend a great deal of their time making groups in the schools work well together.

Gale Muller, of Selection Research, Incorporated, (1983) views effective principals, in this regard, as ones who are capable of building and sustaining long term positive relationships with staffs. They possess "audience sensitivity," the ability to assess the thoughts, feelings, and intentions of faculty members, students and parents. Such principals are known to be "group enhancers," with the ability to make everyone believe that their own group is the best, the one to belong to. They have "woo power," the capacity to attract people to themselves as persons and to the goals they espouse.

Spirited leaders, says Muller, enjoy being the leader, but they have the capacity to delegate effectively. They can determine the talents and interests of teachers, arrange them in effective groups, and then help those groups accomplish difficult and challenging tasks. They help teachers become more professionally ambitious.

Most importantly, spirited leadership combines a forceful, dynamic, energetic mission with the belief in the importance of people. In school leaders, this resolves itself in a style of leadership that may at first appear to be somewhat contradictory. It seems to be both authoritarian and democratic. Described by Persell (1982) such principals:

> ...involved their faculties in school decision-making processes and encouraged genuine exchange among teachers in this process. Teachers see these principals as open to suggestions and willing to consider alternatives. At the same time, they view their principals as "strong, decisive, and always in control of the situation at hand." This suggests clearly that effective principals need to strike a balance between openness and decisiveness. Either one to the extreme may not be effective. Exemplary principals make their intentions clear but they also consult with teachers about those intentions. (p. 15)

The most effective principals, therefore, are leaders who somehow manage to develop school buildings full of faculty and students who are committed to the same set of goals, who see themselves as involved

in groups pursuing a common vision. Spirited leaders are then able to exercise a combination of democratic and executive school management which permits the widest possible effective involvement of faculty and students in the realization of the goals of the school. Effective, fully-functioning schools are peopled by a staff and students who share the same goals and who are able to sustain a positive momentum toward the achievement of those goals.

Participatory Leadership and Decision-Making.

Borrowing from the model of Theory Z employed in corporate life, the spirited school leader involves the staff in authentic power-sharing and participatory decision-making. The most effective school principals recognize that large multi-purpose educational institutions are far too complex to be effectively managed without the widespread involvement of all who teach and learn there. They also take advantage of industry's discovery of the importance of an emphasis on worker involvement to increased productivity. As summarized by Peters and Waterman (1982):

> ...the excellent companies appear to take advantage of yet another very human need—the need one has to control one's destiny. At the same time that we are almost too willing to yield to institutions that give us meaning and thus a sense of security, we also want self-determination. With equal vehemence, "we simultaneously seek self-determination and security." (p. 80).

Skilled leaders learn how to guide a school faculty so that its members feel secure in the mission they serve, and feel involved in the decisions about fulfilling that mission. After the goals of the program have been clearly articulated, effective school leaders devise strategies for effective group involvement about decisions concerning the various ways in which such goals may be reached. Leaders solicit the assistance of teachers and students in dealing with the problems and difficulties that come with the attempt to accomplish complex goals in challenging situations. In the less effective schools, research indicates that teachers rarely, if ever, encounter opportunities to participate in the shaping and implementation of important policies (Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982).

The principal who utilizes a Type Z perspective to executive-democratic leadership exhibits a number of distinguishing characteristics (Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982):

> They attempt to develop trusting and harmonious relationships among the faculty members.
>
> They use this solid relationship to constructively confront problems that present barriers to the realization of school goals, rather than silently tolerating or remaining unaware of these issues.
>
> They exercise a considerable amount of personal power and in-

volvement in the initial stages of school goal-setting or problem-solving and then find ways to delegate authority and disperse decision-making.

They know their teachers well enough so that when important schoolwide problems arise, or new opportunities present themselves, the principal can solicit the assistance of these teachers whose strengths will be most effective in the particular situation.

They involve their faculties in decision-making, however, within the framework of some mechanism that insures that the thrust will not be deflected away from the central priorities of the school.

Clearly then, the type of leadership exercised by the most effective principals does not create a pure and unadulterated democracy, for the principal has a vision to protect. There are also many responsibilities which principals must bear which do not lend themselves to participatory decision-making: certain aspects of the selection and evaluation of staff; imposed budgetary restrictions; board mandates on curriculum, materials, schedules, calendars; and a dozen other restrictions that offer little choice to anyone in the school, including the principal.

To avoid the appearance of arbitrarily restricting the involvement of the faculty, the skilled administrator must establish and clarify from the outset the boundaries which circumscribe the areas of school operations which do lend themselves to participatory decision-making. When a principal is surrounded by a talented staff and faculty, and when the limits of the process are clear and acceptable to all, engaging in a constructive problem-centered dialogue can lead to more effective decisions, with a staff ownership of resulting policies and programs that reaches far beyond the typical range.

One middle school principal (Spindler and George, 1983) identifies several reasons why he believes that participatory leadership helps him and his staff improve the organization and operation of an effective middle school. Not the least of these is increased ownership in the program. Involvement in the decision-making process by the staff promotes a psychological commitment of that staff toward the final decision of any aspect of the school program. If the staff members have been involved in identifying and discussing the pros and cons of each explored alternative, then the final decision is much more likely to be broadly supported by the faculty.

The experience of administrators in schools, as well as in corporate life, strongly supports the belief that when staff members are authentically involved in decisions, they perceive themselves, as persons and professionals, in measureably more positive ways. Professional self-esteem grows and faculty morale becomes more positive when teachers see themselves as playing a valuable role in the development of im-

portant school policies. Spindler also identifies involvement in decisions as the source of significant increases in faculty morale. A common complaint in less effectively managed schools is that "No one ever wants to hear my opinion."

The active participation of the faculty, especially in roles like team leader, provides opportunities for the development of necessary new leadership skills and for the identification of present or future faculty leaders; it is on-the-job staff development. It is also fairly well documented, by research as well as experience, that faculty involvement in management tasks, in this manner, tends to encourage the growth of professional ambition and interest in increased responsibilities. As leadership potential is actualized, teachers develop upward professional mobility and envision more challenging personal and professional goals. The quality of the entire faculty can, therefore, be improved by the process of participation and the evaluation of personal goals and standards.

Finally, participatory leadership opens communications and promotes faculty awareness of what is occurring elsewhere in the school. It bridges the barriers of separate classrooms, departments, grade levels and support services. It creates an increased sense of community and promotes a growing sense of efficacy among the staff, all of which contributes positively to general program effectiveness.

Involving the faculty in decision-making is not without its problems. At times, both administrators and faculty may believe that valuable time is being lost while trying to give all persons the opportunity to voice their opinions. Leaders must, naturally, be able to balance the need for expression with the need for action, but experience in the corporate world illustrates that democratic decision-making saves time after the decision, not before it.

Professional harmony may not be the automatic result of broadened participation. Open debate and discussion may also breed conflict, when issues are critical or communication skills are lacking. Effective leaders must act as moderators and facilitators when differing ideas and opinions need to be aired. Divergent thinking must be encouraged at the same time as movement toward convergent thinking and consensus must be begun; not an easy task, but one required of principals who seek involvement.

When a school is properly organized, when the procedure is understood, when the mission is clear, and when there is an attitude of trust and caring among the participants, the stage is set for the use of participatory decision-making. There are, of course, any number of models for the process currently in use, but some appear to be easier to implement and use over a number of years.

Lincoln Middle School, in Gainesville, Florida, utilizes the Program Improvement Council (PIC) as a vehicle for participatory leadership and decision-making, a model developed years ago by the Institute for

the Development of Educational Activities, for its Individually Guided Education (IGE) program (Spindler and George, 1983). The Program Improvement Council at Lincoln meets each week after school, and has as its regular members the principal (as chairperson), the assistant principals, team leaders, media specialist, guidance counselor, an exceptional child program representative, and an exploratory program representative. The composition of this group represents every part of the instructional and administrative program of the school, and any other faculty or staff member may attend the PIC meeting, in a role which is described as "fishbowling." By attending the PIC meetings, staff members can listen and actively participate in the discussion of agenda items. It is, therefore, a significant inservice tool for staff members who need to hear the interaction that takes place during the decision-making process. At times, certain faculty members need to be there to represent a point of view or to advocate or articulate a particular program need that is being discussed at that meeting. It is important, at Lincoln, that all staff members understand that they are welcome to attend and participate in PIC meetings.

A tentative agenda for the weekly meeting is placed on the teachers' bulletin board each week, so that any faculty member can suggest a concern or subject for discussion at the meeting. The day of the meeting, the tentative agenda is taken down and a final agenda is prepared for the meeting by the principal. The principal also, of course, adds items to the agenda that need to be addressed from that office.

The physical setup of the meeting is considered to be very important. PIC members sit in a square or circle, facing one another, in a way that encourages an open climate for verbal interaction and permits complete eye contact among those present. It is also wise, participants say, to sit in different positions around the circle, from one meeting to another, so that no cliques or power plays grow from the seating arrangement. Administrators should arrange themselves around the circle so that participants from no single area speak for any particular interest group.

Minutes of the meeting should be recorded by one of the members of PIC, an assignment that is rotated from one member to another from week to week. Minutes can be written on a ditto master, duplicated after the meeting, and placed in all the staff members' mailboxes so that they can know the business that took place the day before at PIC. The minutes are also used by team leaders to review the discussions and decisions at PIC with the team members the next morning at team meetings.

A wide variety of subjects appears on the PIC agenda from week to week. Planning for special projects, discussions of how to better meet the needs of individual students for curriculum and instruction, scheduling strategies, administrative concerns such as excessive tardiness,

writing comments on report cards, or improving the quality of parent conferences are all common PIC agenda items. Staff development concerns are also frequently discussed at PIC meetings. Brainstorming techniques are emphasized, in order to allow the faculty to dream a little about things they'd like to see happen. It is important, leaders say, to properly balance the more immediate situational concerns with the pipe-dreams that are necessary in order to pave the way for change, innovation, and long-range planning.

An important aspect of this participatory leadership is properly identifying issues that need to be openly discussed before a decision is to be made. Members of PIC should be informed when an issue need not be processed; regulations and guidelines sometimes dictate a solution that is preordained. Lengthy discussions of issues of this nature lead only to frustration and disappointment.

Another currently popular model for involving the faculty in participatory decision-making comes directly from Japan, where worker involvement and participation in decision-making have become legendary. The "Quality Circle" concept has moved from corporate settings, to banks, hospitals, and a host of other organizations. At the time of this writing, over 4000 organizations have begun to be involved with quality circles (Chase, 1983).

The quality circle is a technique for harnessing group brainstorming, problem-solving and decision-making that relate to any organization's problems of quality or productivity. The basic unit is a small group of people (5-12) who meet regularly to identify problems and suggest solutions, by following a set of very specific procedures. These procedures, say advocates of the quality circle technique, are very different from typical task forces or committees. There are eight separate techniques (Chase, 1983):

1. Round Robin Brainstorming: to produce the maximum number of creative ideas on a topic.
2. Voting to Achieve Group Consensus: a procedure that permits the group to clarify and prioritize the ideas they have generated.
3. Cause and Effect Analysis: a structured technique that allows the group to identify the possible causes of a particular problem.
4. Data Collection: The step in which members of the circle use all techniques at their disposal to amass data which can be used to identify the real problem.
5. Decision Analysis: Using the data to be absolutely certain of the problem, before solutions are developed.
6. Generating Solutions: Determining the relative cost and benefits of each solution and arriving at a list of recommendations and an implementation plan.

7. Management Presentation: Formal presentation of the results of quality circle deliberations to the person most responsible for accepting or rejecting the recommendations.
8. Evaluation: A process of self-evaluation that engages the members of the circle in a critique of their own efforts in previous months.

If the quality circle concept can be used in the context of a truly Type Z school, it has considerable potential for contributing important strengths to participatory decision-making. The range of problems that might be effectively attacked through the use of this technique is virtually endless. Except for issues handled through other mechanisms already in place, like contract agreements, exclusively management prerogatives, or personality problems, the field is wide open. So long as the process is not abused by those who misunderstand it, misused to give the appearance of participation without the reality, or given lip service as one would to any passing fad, the quality circle appears to be a technique of considerable utility.

Summary

In an analysis of the new demands being made of leadership in education and elsewhere, one sociologist identifies thirteen such requirements (Kanter, 1979). Among the most significant of those pressures are the need to:

Give followers greater voice.

Design organizations in ways that minimize hierarchy and maximize teamwork and participation.

Share leadership in ways which recognize the obsolete model of the single person as leader.

Change the role of leaders from ordering to inspiring.

From Toyota, to Walt Disney, to General Motors, and on to the schools, participatory leadership is growing. Willis Harman, a senior social scientist at the Stanford Research Institute summarizes (Harman, 1979):

> Participatory management may appear initially to be more inefficient. In the end it tends to raise morale, increase the sense of being involved with meaningful activity, increase individual incentive, improve the efficiency and productivity of the organization, and encourage a sense of social responsibility. (p. 225)

Spirited leadership is a crucial ingredient in the Theory Z School, and unfortunately, such leadership appears to be as rare as it is important. The most effective leaders for modern schools face almost insurmountable barriers, but somehow manage to develop a vision of what is possible and the energy and commitment to come ever closer

to those ends. They combine a sense of mission, instructional leadership, and the ability to galvanize a group of faculty and students to participate vigorously and with commitment toward the realization of those same goals and objectives. They are the ones we remember with awe.

Afterword

The Theory Z School

The Type Z school outlined in Part Two is a complex but clearly defined institution. The staff of the school subscribes to a written philosophy that is implemented daily in the various activities of the school, a philosophy that begins with equity but goes beyond it to excellence and enrichment. Each member of the faculty and staff are familiar with the goals and objectives that result from the mission of the school, and they have regular opportunities to refine the statement of purposes.

The curriculum of the school fits the philosophy as closely as circumstances permit. Regular assessments provide the staff with opportunities to determine the extent to which the goals of the program are being met through the curriculum, and to influence the curriculum so that it improves the learning experiences of the students in the school.

The classroom experiences of teachers and students are congruent with the perspective of Theory Z. Classroom goals reflect the philosophy of the school, and instruction occurs in a way that fits the nature of the students and the goals of the program.

The school is organized so that authentic group involvement and a sense of community is an important part of the school lives of both staff and students. Vital subgroups function smoothly. Activities are designed and offered in a way that permits everyone to develop the feeling of being an important member of an important group.

The administration of the school is conducted in a way that unifies the teachers and students in a sense of common purpose, of shared vision. The principal is an effective instructional leader, involved in the life of the classroom in a way that improves the teaching and learning for all students. Everyone in the school finds opportunities for authentic involvement in the decisions that affect their educational lives.

How common are such schools, where all five of these components are fully functioning? Less than anyone would like. How difficult will it be to create many more such schools? If the evidence from educational research and experience, and parallel developments from the corporate world are carefully evaluated, it may not be as difficult as it might first appear. None of the components of the Theory Z School are unknown to contemporary educators. There are very few school districts where these five elements are not to be found in one school or another. Pulling them together under one roof is the challenge, albeit a major one; a goal toward which many school districts are now working without using the Theory Z labels.

William Ouchi (1981) suggests a series of steps for assisting corporations in moving toward greater productivity using the Theory Z framework. These steps can be readily adapted to schools. Briefly, educators interested in encouraging schools to move more fully to the Type Z model should:

Step One: Understand the principles of the Theory Z approach to institutional productivity and the special ways this perspective may be useful with schools.

Step Two: Develop an appreciation of the nature of the school as a social organization. Assess the structure of the organization as it is, particularly the real philosophy of the school as it is, not just as participants describe it.

Step Three: Introduce the concepts of shared leadership and be certain that school leaders possess the qualities and skills required to implement this approach.

Step Four: Develop additional skills in leaders and participants. Limit the extent of the changes to those within the grasp of the professionals in the school.

Step Five: Test the commitment of these professionals to the type of participatory system toward which this process is moving.

Step Six: Involve the teacher's professioinal association.

Step Seven: Develop and implement a school organization that permits, indeed requires, staff members to plan together on a regular basis. Find ways to increase the levels of group involvement among teachers and students. Teams and work groups make sense.

Step Eight: Stimulate the recreation of the philosophy, the mission, of the school with the participatory decision-making and leadership that has emerged.

Step Nine: Engage the members of the school staff in the alignment of the curriculum and in the development of classroom practices that are more congruent with the new philosophy of the school.

Step Ten: Accept the fact that the first nine steps may take years to accomplish, that the Type Z school is as much of a process as it is a product, and that the continuation of the process depends upon the willingness of the leaders to model a management style that is essentially democratic and thoroughly person-centered.

It does appear that American schools are moving to become more

like what businesses used to be, at the very time business is attempting to operate more like schools used to be. What a terrible irony educators would face, if most American schools continued in this direction. The usefulness of the Theory Z approach to productivity is that it should help educators realize that all social institutions, educational or corporate, are complex and more or less orderly systems. The fulcrum upon which true, long-lasting productivity and effectiveness rest is the ability to coordinate and synchronize the goals, procedures, organization and the leadership of the institution so that symphony, rather than cacophony results. Theory Z is an attempt to help professions see institutional productivity as the result of an essentially indivisible effort. Perhaps, if educators really do seek to move beyond effectiveness, schools should be run like businesses, some businesses.

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